

TRANSLATING CHINESE POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A FUNCTIONAL-COGNITIVE APPROACH TO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF CHINESE POLITICAL SPEECHES

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Diagrams.....	VI
Acknowledgement.....	VII
List of Abbreviations.....	VIII
Abstract.....	IX
Chapter One Introduction	1
Chapter Two Review of the Developments of Translation Studies and Political Translation	10
2.1 Major developments of the Discipline of Translation Studies.....	10
2.1.1 Linguistic Approach.....	10
2.1.2 Discourse Analysis Approach.....	11
2.1.3 Functionalist Approach.....	12
2.1.4 Models of Translation Norms.....	13
2.1.5 The Quest for Translation Process.....	14
2.1.6 The Integration of Translating Process and Translation Products as a Methodologically Sound Model.....	15
2.2 A Review of Work on the Translation of Political Discourse.....	16
2.2.1 Translating Political Discourse in the Western Context.....	16
2.2.2 Translating Political Discourse in the Chinese Context.....	26
2.3 Chapter Summary.....	30
Chapter Three CDA, Norms and Translation Studies.....	32
3.1 CDA and Translation Studies.....	32
3.1.1 An Overview of CDA Theories.....	32
3.1.2 Major CDA Models.....	33
3.1.3 A CDA Approach to Translation Studies.....	35
3.1.4 Fairclough's Model.....	35
3.1.5 Van Dijk's Construction of Context Models for CDA: a Socio-Cognitive Perspective.....	39
3.1.5.1 Knowledge-mediated Context Models.....	39

3.1.5.2 Political Discourse and Political Cognition.....	45
3.1.6 The Fusion of van Dijk's and Fairclough's Models as an Integrative Approach.....	47
3.1.7 Integration of CDA with Translation Studies.....	49
3.2 Norms and Political Translation.....	51
3.2.1 Major Models of Translation Norm Theories.....	53
3.2.1.1 Toury's Norms.....	54
3.2.1.2 Hermans's Norms.....	56
3.2.1.3 Chesterman's Norms.....	58
3.2.1.3.1 Three Subsets of Norms.....	62
3.3 The Linkage between Translation Norms and CDA: a Socio-Cognitive Perspective.....	66
3.4 Political Translation in China and Norms.....	68
3.5 Chapter Summary.....	74
Chapter Four Studies on Political Discourse.....	76
4.1 Research Contexts for the Study of Political Discourse.....	76
4.1.1 The Pragmatics-oriented Linguistic Approach.....	76
4.1.2 The CDA-led Interdisciplinary Approach.....	78
4.1.3 The Cognitive Turn.....	83
4.1.4 The Cultural and Rhetorical Approach.....	87
4.2 Metadiscourse and Political Legitimation: a Cultural-cognitive Perspective into Chinese Political Discourse.....	93
4.2.1 Deng's Period: 'Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'.....	95
4.2.2 Jiang's Period: 'Three Represents' and 'Keeping Pace with the Times'.....	96
4.2.3 Hu's Period: 'Harmony'.....	98
4.2.4 Chinese Political Philosophy: Complementary Dialectics.....	100
4.2.5 Metadiscourse as a Socio-cognitively Oriented Notion for Discourse Construction.....	103
4.3 Political Discourse Analysis and Translation Studies of Political Discourse.....	106
4.4 Chapter Summary.....	107

Chapter Five Textual Analysis of the Translations of Political Speeches	109
5.1 Commemorative Speech	109
5.1.1 Socio-Political Background of the Commemorative Speeches.....	110
5.1.2 General Features of Translation in the Three Speeches.....	112
5.1.3 Parallel Analysis.....	115
5.1.4 Summary.....	122
5.2 Diplomatic Speeches: UN Speeches	126
5.2.1 General Features of Translation in the Three Speeches.....	126
5.2.1.1 Deng's Speech.....	126
5.2.1.1.1 TT Accommodations.....	126
5.2.1.1.2 Metaphorisation.....	127
5.2.1.1.3 ST Alignment.....	128
5.2.1.1.4 Formalisation Strategy.....	130
5.2.1.2 Jiang's Speech.....	132
5.2.1.2.1 Mitigating Strategy.....	132
5.2.1.2.2 Neutralisation.....	133
5.2.1.2.3 Legitimation.....	132
5.2.1.2.4 TT Accommodations.....	136
5.2.1.3 Hu's Speech.....	137
5.2.1.3.1 Normalisation.....	138
5.2.1.3.2 TT Accommodations.....	138
5.2.2 Parallel Analysis.....	142
5.2.3 Summary.....	146
5.3 CPC Party Reports	150
5.3.1 General Features of the Three Speeches and Their Translations.....	150
5.3.1.1 The 1987 Speech.....	150
5.3.1.1.1 Legitimation.....	151
5.3.1.2 The 1997 Speech.....	154
5.3.1.2.1 Parallelism.....	154

5.3.1.3 The 2007 Speech.....	156
5.3.1.3.1 De-metaphorisation.....	157
5.3.1.3.2 Metaphorisation.....	158
5.3.1.3.3 Legitimation.....	159
5.3.1.3.4 Interpersonalisation.....	160
5.3.2 Parallel Analysis.....	161
5.3.3 Summary.....	168
5.4 Government Work Report.....	168
5.4.1 General Features of the Three Speeches and Their Translations.....	168
5.4.1.1 1988 Speech.....	168
5.4.1.1.1 Interpersonalisation.....	168
5.4.1.1.2 Legitimation.....	170
5.4.1.1.3 Semantic Condensation.....	171
5.4.1.1.4 Explication.....	173
5.4.1.2 The 1999 Speech.....	175
5.4.1.2.1 Explication.....	175
5.4.1.2.2 Semantic Condensation.....	177
5.4.1.2.3 Interpersonalisation Strategy.....	178
5.4.1.3 The 2011 Speech.....	179
5.4.1.3.1 Explication.....	179
5.4.1.3.2 Interpersonalisation.....	180
5.4.1.3.3 Neutralisation.....	181
5.4.2 Parallel Analysis.....	183
5.4.3 Summary.....	190
5.5 Political Speeches on Special Issues.....	193
5.5.1 The Development of Political Discourse on the Issue of Taiwan in Different Periods.....	193
5.5.2 Comparative Analysis of the Three Speeches and Their Translations.....	195
5.5.2.1 Formalisation.....	196
5.5.2.2 Normalisation.....	197

5.5.3 Translation Shifts at the Lexical Level.....	198
5.5.4 Translation Shifts at the Syntactic Level.....	200
5.5.4.1 Transitivity (Existential processes).....	200
5.5.4.2 Theme.....	201
5.5.4.2.1 Thematised Comment.....	201
5.5.4.2.2 Thematic Equatives.....	201
5.5.5 Summary.....	204
5.6 Chapter Summary	206
5.6.1 General Features of Translation Shifts.....	204
5.6.2 Genre-specific Features.....	210
5.6.3 Dialectical Relationship between ST and TT Production.....	211
Chapter Six Conclusion.....	214
References.....	223
Appendix: Primary Sources.....	245

List of Tables and Diagrams

Table 1 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Commemorative Speeches.....	123
Table 2 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Diplomatic Speeches	146
Table 3 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese CPC Party Reports...	165
Table 4 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Government Work Report.....	190
Table 5 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Political Speeches on Special Issues.....	204
Diagram 1 Relations between Text, Discourse, Discursive Practice and Social Practice.....	38
Diagram 2 Dialectical Relations between ST and TT Text Production.....	213

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List of Abbreviations

ST: Source Text

TT: Target Text

LT: Literal Translation

OT: Official Translation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

Abstract

This thesis presents a theoretical attempt to look into the process of political translation in China and the textual products from a functional-cognitive perspective by combining the CDA models of Fairclough and van Dijk. The functional linguistic parameters parallel to Fairclough's functional forms of textual analysis serve as a micro-level device for the close examination of texts. At the macro-level, van Dijk's direction of CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective accounts for the core relation between the power enactment and discourse production in a more profound manner. Meanwhile, anchored in the Chesterman's model of translation norms, it sets out to argue that political translation in China is both an institutional operation and a reciprocal process of norm-reformation practice in specific context models. The theoretical propositions are instantiated by comprehensive text analysis from a functional perspective. The corpus of data is formed by five sets of Chinese political speeches and their English translations delivered by the state leaders in each of their periods of leadership. The focus is on presenting a holistic picture of the translation of Chinese political discourse through a spectrum of political genres. The thesis is concluded with the theoretical insights that the roles translation intends to play in mediating between the source and target communities manifest themselves as the power-mediated knowledge transfer between the source group and the target group depending on which group holds more discursive power in specific context models. Practically, it is observed that translation, as a form of political engagement in an era when China is governed under a more open and settled leadership, demonstrates a growing tendency to interact with the target readership and engages in the negotiation with the orthodox norms.

Key words: Functional-cognitive perspective, CDA, translation norms, translation of Chinese political discourse, political genres

Chapter One

Introduction

In recent years, the discipline of translation studies has shown an intense interest in investigating the translation of political discourse. Findings are presented in terms of the multi-faceted revelation of power relations involved in the translation process and products. Most of the literature is anchored in the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is primarily aimed at investigating the relations between language use and social power. However, in view of the bilingual contexts involved in translation analysis, the notion of context in which translational activities take place in the political realm will need to be better formulated, and the connections between translation and CDA as well as translation strategies and the underlying ideology have to be better elaborated in political discourse analysis¹.

Moreover, as the findings are primarily based on the textual data translated into the translators' mother tongues, the analysis is consequently oriented towards the target culture. Therefore inadequate considerations have been given to account for the practice of political translation into 'a non-mother tongue' widely taking place in the non-western countries such as China. This is either due to the status quo that there is a severe shortage of competent translators who are able to translate Chinese into their mother tongues, or prejudiced by the view that 'translation into a non-mother tongue is not a wise choice' (Huang 2005) which is still prevalent in the West.

This thesis thus aims to ground the translation studies of Chinese political speeches into the framework of CDA by examining the process of political translation in China and the textual products. The inspiration stems from the fact that China has witnessed a gradual transformation of political discourse in many aspects of China's

¹ Political discourse analysis: situated in the framework of CDA-oriented translation studies, political discourse analysis in this study focuses on the textual analysis of the English transcripts of Chinese political speeches in an attempt to reveal the ideological traits arising against the source and target contexts.

socio-political life in the past three decades and that part of this process is reflected and informed by changes of discourse through translation. Thus, an analysis of political translation in China during this period would not only contribute to a better understanding of Chinese politics, but also provide insights into the translational activities in the Chinese context.

The thesis sets out to argue that political translation in China is both an institutional operation and a reciprocal process of norm-reformation practice in specific context models. It thus tentatively problematises the prevalent target-oriented approach to translation studies² and calls for special attention to the translation practice taking place in non-Western contexts such as China. The actual practice of political translation in China under scrutiny operates as a special case in that it is derived from and developed within the source (Chinese) culture, therefore political translation in China becomes the source-culture-based act of reinterpreting and transforming the STs (Source Texts) into the TTs (Target Texts). In this view, priority is given to the professional and cultural norms of the ST community and the TTs can be regarded as textual indicators of subtle ideological manipulations devised to maintain the socio-political order of the source culture, although the target readership will be considered to the extent that the 'priority' criterion will not be compromised.

In this respect, the translational activities in the political realm tend to fulfill unique functions in both ST and TT contexts and exhibit unique features in terms of the discursive formation of the TTs and its dynamic influence on the ST production. It is thus ultimately indicated that China's identity and subjectivity is largely shaped and informed by the discursive transformation in both domestic and international spheres as influenced by the practice of political translation, culture and trajectory of socio-political development.

² Target-oriented approach to translation studies can be construed by the much-quoted remarks of its major theorist Gideon Toury (1985: 19) who puts it as '...any research into translation, ... should start from the hypothesis that translations are facts of one system only: the target system. It is clear that, from the standpoint of the source text and source system, translations have hardly any significance at all, even if everybody in the source culture 'knows' of their factual existence (which is rarely the case anyway)'.

An integrative theoretical model is subsequently devised. As power and ideology is inherently involved in the analysis of political discourse, a combined functional-cognitive CDA approach is adopted to relate power enactment to discourse production in both source and target contexts. Meanwhile, given that political translation is basically a norm-governed practice; the notion of translation norm is employed and adapted to the study of Chinese political discourse translation. It is of importance to note that the notions adopted from CDA and norms theory tend to be recast in a socio-cognitive light and integrated with cultural analysis to forge a more cogent and operational link between texts and their socio-political contexts.

In what follows, the above theoretical propositions are instantiated by extensive text analysis from a functional perspective. The corpus of data is formed by five sets of Chinese political speeches covering five most typical political genres and their English translations delivered by the state leaders in each of the three periods of leadership³. All the STs and TTs are the scripts of the speeches collected from official publications. The TTs were produced on a collective basis by state-run institutions undergoing a set of standardised steps as detailed in the previous introduction. During the process, the TTs are repeatedly updated and scrutinised before the final release to the public.

The focus is on presenting a holistic picture of the translation of Chinese political discourse through a spectrum of political genres which include commemorative speeches, diplomatic speeches, CPC Party reports, government work report and political speeches on special issues. Each genre includes three parallel speeches delivered by the three top Chinese leaders (Deng, Jiang and Hu) in each of these periods. By “parallel”, it means that the speeches share a common theme and were delivered on similar official occasions. This analytic approach appears particularly

³ The three periods of leadership: **Deng’s period** refers to the time when Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) was in power literally from 1976 to 1990. **Jiang’s period** covered the years from 1990 to 2003 when Deng’s successor, Jiang Zemin, was in office. **Hu’s period** began from 2003 to 2012 when Hu Jintao is the top Chinese leader.

helpful to identify the socio-political changes and their impact on political discourse. Given the remarkable level of parallels in both wording and context between the Chinese speeches, it would be of great interest to discover how this phenomenon is dealt with in the translated versions. Framed within the institutional constraints as discussed above, it is fair to say that any significant textual variations in the TTs might be brought about by the adaptive operation of norms underlined by the changing socio-political representations. Therefore emphasis is placed on identifying the indicators of discourse change in the English translations, which can be optimally highlighted by examining the translation shifts and diachronically comparing the shifts amongst various sets of parallel examples consisting of identical textual ST segments and their corresponding TTs extracted from the three speeches. In this way, the changes of translation strategies could be better discerned and analysed along the trajectory of discursive evolution in the political sphere.

It is noted that the notion of translation shifts is an extensive topic within the discipline of translation studies. It commonly refers to ‘the changes which occur or may occur in the process of translation (Bakker, Koster, & van Leuven-Zwart 2011). The focus of attention has moved away from the narrowly linguistic and source-oriented approaches (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958, 1995, 2000; Catford 1965) to the functionally oriented descriptive approaches particularly with the complement of Corpus Linguistics (Toury 1980a, 1985; van Leuven-Zwart 1989; Munday 1998; Koster 2002; Cyrus 2006, 2009). Given the descriptive nature of this study, it tends to conform to the prevalent line of the research which focuses on discovering properties of translated language from a discursive and communicative perspective (Blum-Kulka 1986) and in a certain cultural context (Cyrus 2009). According to Toury (1980a), the description and explanation of shifts in translation ought to be concerned with the dynamics of culture rather than the static descriptive contrast of the languages.

More specifically in this study, translation shifts are seen as ‘invariant under transformation’ (Toury 1980a: 12). Invariant refers to the element that remains

unchanged during translation, while transformation occurs at various textual levels in the process of translation. It should be noted that the transformations are exclusive of the systematic differences between the ST and TT which are static and rule-governed. Only the value-laden transformations will be accounted for as the outcome of the socio-culturally situated translation behaviour. The transformations in the latter form, in Toury's (1985) formulation of the descriptive translation studies, are achieved through the descriptive comparison of the STs and TTs, and are ultimately attributed to norms. In this study, the accumulation of translation shifts obtained at the textual-functional level across the spectrum of political genres over the three periods of leadership may point to the characteristics of political translation as well as the changes of social and institutional norms.

Another merit of this analytic approach is that the parallel examples under examination are exhaustive in a sense that all the identical expressions across the three original speeches at both word and sentence levels are to be presented along with their translations for scrutiny. In this respect, the methodological formulation of this study would largely avert the typical criticism directed at the qualitative approach represented by CDA for its being conveniently selective in sample presentation as motivated by a specific research purpose. Therefore, the textual evidences serve as a reliable source for a fuller investigation of both the original and translated discourse derived from specific social representations. A number of parallel examples are presented below based on the exhaustive search of functionally identical expressions in the five sets of speeches. The aim is to explore the changes of textual representations across the past three decades or so, and to provide insights into the relationship between socio-political changes and texts from a translation studies perspective.

In addition, the data analysis also gives full play of the unique features of each individual speech relating to the issue of translation wherever possible within each set of data. This step is crucial as a necessary complement of the 'parallel' approach

given that parallel examples may not be evenly distributed across the diversity of genres. Therefore the individual analysis of the speeches has a particular stake in avoiding the criticism of generalisation in its provision of an objective account of the translated discourse.

This dimension of data analysis is achieved through the comparative analysis of STs and TTs. In the first instance, the STs are faithfully translated into English by the author, which is termed as Literal Translation (LT). The aims are twofold. One is to present the original meaning in the STs by keeping the form and structure of the original Chinese speeches as unchanged as possible. The other is to form a convenient comparison with the Official Translation (OT), therefore a certain level of textual intervention is involved to keep the segments which are not used for immediate comparison as close as the TTs so that the stretches of text to be compared with the OTs are better highlighted. The special textual intervention involved in producing the LTs by the author is meant to be more reader-friendly and facilitate the comprehension of the non-native Chinese readers.

For analytic clarity, the multitude of data samples will be grouped into various functional categories based on the functions the identified translation shifts are aimed to fulfil in both source and target cultures. Those categories will be further examined and clarified in the statistics of the tables shown at the end of each subsection.

It is noteworthy that the numerical evidence shown in each table may not seem sufficient to support the ensuing qualitative analysis at face value. In the first instance, however, these textual evidences are obtained through the exhaustive examination of translation shifts through the combined comparative and parallel approach. Given the highly consistent institutional operation of Chinese political translation practice, it is fair to say that any translation shift is of some significance and can be viewed as textual indicator of some textual readjustment to the contingent context models. Moreover, given the size of the corpus which is formed by fifteen original political

speeches and fifteen translated speeches, the functional categories constituted by the grouped translation shifts exhibit a substantial level of consistency across the five sets of data. Therefore, it makes sense to suggest that the exemplified textual instances, though relatively low in frequency within each set of data, can point to a set of consistent features unique to Chinese political translation when all the five sets of data are viewed collectively.

In terms of its content and structure, the thesis begins with a comprehensive literature review of the translation studies of political discourse anchored in both western and Chinese academic contexts in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three examines relevant CDA approaches and explores their applicability regarding political discourse analysis. It seeks to deal with the perennial issue of relating discourse production to social practices in order to establish a general theoretical framework to accommodate discourse analysis in bilingual contexts in the domain of translation studies.

In this chapter, the central issue of translation studies of political discourse is articulated with the intention to develop specific theoretical considerations for political translation in China. Then the notion of translation norms is explored and recast in a socio-cognitive light to account for the translation practice taking place in the Chinese political realm in a more profound manner. The linkage between translation norms theory and CDA elaborated in the previous chapter is articulated to formulate an integrative approach to the study of political translation in China. Meanwhile, the translational behaviour of political discourse and its unique features are investigated from the macro level, leading to the detailed textual examination in the next chapter.

Chapter Four is an academic overview of political discourse studies from a cultural and cognitive perspective as well as a solid and more tangible analytical ground to

anchor the changes of strategies in Chinese political translation across the three periods of leadership. It starts with a general account of the research context with respect to the study of political discourse, keeping in view the major developments in this field. In the following section, it provides a unique perspective into the Chinese political discourse by explicating the metadiscourses and their essential roles in constructing and organising the Chinese political representations. Special emphasis is placed on the socio-cognitive dimension and the cultural embeddedness political metadiscourses entail in facilitating the formation of political configurations in an attempt to offer a broadened view over the Chinese authorities' measures of legitimacy building. This socio-cognitive approach to Chinese political discourse would call for a substantial level of interconnectedness with the previous discussions.

Chapter Five is focused on a detailed account of data analysis in which the above theoretical propositions are instantiated and illustrated to reveal the implicit link between the functional-cognitive CDA perspective to the norm-governed and norm-negotiating practice in translation studies. Five sets of political speeches covering the most typical sub-genres in Chinese political discourse are collected and examined in a diachronic manner, where norms at various levels are scrutinised by analysing textual evidences. For analytic clarity, the multitude of data samples will be grouped into various functional categories based on the functions that the identified translation shifts are aimed to fulfil in both source and target cultures. Those categories will be further examined and clarified in the tabled statistics shown at the end of each section.

In Chapter Six, the thesis is concluded with the theoretical insights that the roles translation intends to play in mediating between the source and target communities manifest themselves from a socio-cognitive CDA perspective as the power-mediated knowledge transfer between the source group and the target group depending on which group holds more discursive power in specific context models. Practically, it is observed that translation, as a form of political engagement in an era when China is

governed under a more open and settled leadership, demonstrates a growing tendency to interact with the target readership and engages in the negotiation with the orthodox norms.

Chapter Two

Review of the Developments of Translation Studies and Political Translation

This chapter presents a comprehensive overview of translation studies, particularly in the light of translating political discourse. It comprises two subsections. The first section outlines the basic paradigm of translation studies as a discipline, aiming to situate the specific aspect of translation studies represented by the tenet of this study against the global academic contexts. The second section gives a comprehensive review of the work on political discourse translation anchored in both Western and Chinese contexts.

2.1 Major Developments of the Discipline of Translation Studies

Translation seems to be a readily comprehensible concept in both the practical and scholarly sense. However, it is this easy-to-understand feature that adds a substantial level of vagueness to it. This section starts with an attempt to clarify some similar terms clustered around the notion of translation by citing Bell's differentiation between translation as concept, product and process, as outlined below.

- (1) a translation: the product of the process of translating (i.e. the translated text);
- (2) translating: the process (to translate; the activity rather than the tangible object);
- (3) translation: the abstract concept which encompasses both the process of translating and the product of that process (Bell 1991: 13-15).

In effect, this terminological distinction maps out the basic paradigm for translation studies, fleshed out with a variety of methods and models developed over the history of translation which will be illustrated in the following categories.

2.1.1 Linguistic Approach

The first category involves theories of translation as product, which basically entails a linguistic approach. According to Naudé (2002: 47), the dominating notion within this line of research would be equivalence which still has some level of influence on today's scholarship (Halverson 1997). The notion of equivalence is summarised as a choice between translation in pursuit of conveying the formal and cultural features of the foreign text and translation cultivating pragmatic equivalence immediately intelligible to the receptor (ibid.). Hence a range of dichotomic linguistic approaches are developed based on this notion. Following the iconic categorisation of word-for-word translation v.s. sense-for-sense translation, formal equivalence (Nida 1964, Nida & Taber 1969), semantic translation (Newmark 1988) and overt translation (House 1981) can be largely grouped under the former, while dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964, Nida & Taber 1969), communicative translation (Newmark 1988), covert translation (House 1981) under the latter (ibid).

2.1.2 Discourse Analysis Approach

The deterministic role accorded to STs as the sole criterion to render and evaluate translations has gradually incurred widespread criticism on the 'equivalence' approach. Its main shortcoming lies in the total disregard for those socio-cultural conditions under which translations are produced and the requirements of acts of communication in the receiving culture (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990; Naudé 2002), which is characteristic of the normative and prescriptive category of research in translation studies. Against this backdrop, the linguistic-oriented translation theories are manifested in an updated form commonly known as discourse analysis approach. Amongst the many translation theorists following this approach, Hatim and Mason (1990; 1997) and Baker (1992) have made major contributions by drawing on text linguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics. Their studies conceptualise translation in a way language communicates meaning within social and power relations. To this end, translation means communicating a foreign text with target readership by exploring the pragmatic maxims in the target community. The pragmatic-oriented

translation approach assumes a communicative intention and a relation of equivalence, based on textual analysis which locates equivalence at a textual and communicative level rather than at the sentential and lexical level (Naudé 2002: 48). The linguistic toolkit for textual analysis is derived from Halliday's systemic functional model on which the socio-cultural meanings behind texts are explored.

2.1.3 Functionalist Approach

Further to the above various equivalence-related models, functionalist approaches emerged aiming to liberate translators from 'an excessively servile adherence to the source text' (Naudé 2002: 50) and to look at translation as a purposeful act taking into account the translators' client and readership. Vermeer's Skopos theory put forward in the late 1970s has laid the foundation for the functionalist paradigm with its predominant emphasis on the TT in the target context. It is formulated with the strong contention against the then prevailing equivalence models, arguing that it is not the ST configuration that determines translation methods and strategies but the intended function of the TT which governs the translational action and the production of translations. As pointed out by Naudé (2002: 51), the key difference between linguistic-oriented models of equivalence and Vermeer's functionalist model lies in their various attitudes towards the source text: the former views the ST as a sole source of norms and constraints; while the latter regards 'a translation as a true rendition in so far as it functions as a text in the target culture' (ibid). Moreover, as commented by Snell-Hornby (2006: 54), the concept of culture as a totality of knowledge, proficiency and perception is essential to the functional approach as a form of communication and social action in contrast to the directive code-switching prevailing in the linguistic-oriented approach.

Despite the groundbreaking innovation the functionalist approach has injected into the discipline, its shortcomings are widely acknowledged concerning the inadequate considerations for the ST conditions, which could only be partly redressed by Nord's

(1991) attempt to accommodate the ST features by proposing a model of ST analysis. As further articulated by Munday (2001), even if the Skopos theory is adequately fulfilled, it seems to be inadequate at the 'stylistic or semantic levels of individual segments' in terms of both the 'linguistic nature of the ST and the reproduction of micro-level features in the TT'(ibid: 81).

2.1.4 Models of Translation Norms

As discussed above, given that the functionalist models take the target-oriented approach relatively to the extreme and that the micro-level textual features are not adequately considered, Toury (1995) applies the notion of norm to his conceptualisation of translational activities. According to Toury (1995: 55), norm is a key concept with respect to social order, manifested as regularity of behaviour applicable to particular situations embodying general social values and ideas. In relation to translational behaviour, it leaves open choices for translators: either to adhere to ST norms or to follow TT norms, although it is suggested that actual translation practice always involves some combination of the two extremes.

In addition to the norm operating at the macro-level, Toury introduces the operational norm into his model, focusing on the micro-level textual shifts from the ST to the TT in pursuit of the 'descriptive-explanatory' goal of his approach. Toury's norm theory sheds light in two respects. Firstly, despite its overt target-culture orientation in parallel with the Skopos theory, his assumptions are built on a micro-level textual examination of ST and TT segments, aiming to present a more informed descriptive profile of the translation products. Secondly, the notion of translation norms touches on the decision-making process of translating which is accounted for by the examination of texts and the review of the explicit statements made about norms by translators and other tangible sources. Although such explicit statements may be partial and biased as admitted by Toury (ibid: 65), it points to a significant trend in translation studies in terms of the attempt to look into the translating process.

This step has initiated a substantial amount of empirical research as an alternative to investigate norms by interacting with translators and other participants involved in the decision-making process. Despite the substantial contribution Toury's model of translation norms has made, most criticism focuses on the bewilderingly broad scale where the concept of norm operates spanning from prescriptive 'rules' to individual 'idiosyncrasy' (ibid: 54). In addition, the fact that the term 'equivalence' has been retained in the comparative analysis of the ST and the TT adds a certain level of ambiguity to the explicitly devised descriptive approach.

In order to further free the norm notion of its innate prescriptive sense and embed it with social practice, other norm theorists move on to make fresh theoretical endeavours from different perspectives. It will be of vital relevance to keep in view Hermans's (1999) and Chesterman's (1997) models of translation norms which put more emphasis on the cultural and cognitive aspects of the norm concept respectively given their enormous influence on the paradigm of norm theory and translation studies as a whole. Given the synthetical nature of this section, the extensive discussion of other norm models will appear in the next chapter as part of the theoretical framework given its immediate applicability to the study of Chinese political translation.

2.1.5 The Quest for Translation Process

The momentous development of translation studies is mainly achieved by its integrating with frameworks and methodologies stemming from other disciplines such as cultural studies, sociology, psychology and political science. In this sense, translation studies could be regarded as an interdisciplinary science by nature. Thus, the various distinctive theoretical perspectives derived from other disciplines are constantly adapted and re-evaluated in order to meet the needs of translation studies as 'an integral and autonomous discipline' (Naudé 2002: 46). The interdisciplinary

trend has immediate influence on the development of process-oriented models of translation studies. Bell (1991) argues that the balance should be redressed through a systematic study of the process of translation given the overwhelming emphasis placed on the evaluation and description of translation products. This concern is echoed by Trosborg (1994: 10) who makes explicit that a theory of translation as process needs to draw on psychology and psycholinguistics in its examination of the information processing of translating with the treatment of perception and memory involved. Substantial contributions to the construction of translation process models have come with the think-aloud protocols developed by Lörscher (1991, 1996) and Fraser (1996) whose empirical study is to do with verbalising the translators' mental activities during the translating process as the term itself suggests. Despite the refreshing vision this approach has offered, its viability and feasibility are constantly called into question as eminently presented in Naudé's comments below.

However, think-aloud protocols are beset by a number of methodical problems which should be taken into account when the data produced is put to use. Verbalisation would not register unconscious factors and automatic processes, and it can change a mental activity instead of simply reporting it. Similarly, subjects are instructed to provide specific kinds of information. Obviously the data will be affected by how articulate and self-conscious a subject may be. (Naudé 2002: 46)

2.1.6 The Integration of Translating Process and Translation Products as a Methodologically Sound Model

It can be seen that the purely psychological approach to translating process is inevitably affected by the subjective and unmanageable factors involved, but the quest for a more cogent methodology applicable to this realm of translation studies should not be deterred by the above shortcomings, as asserted by Naudé (2002: 50) that translation theory must be oriented towards the objective speculation of the steps and stages through which translations are produced. Calling for the methodological integration between translating process and translation products, this concern is generally in tune with the initial threefold research paradigm presented by Bell (1991)

with respect to the dimension of envisaging translation as both process and product, as considered the long-term goal for translation studies.

More specifically, the translation process models may gain more ground when explored from a socially-oriented perspective. Theoretically, relevant social theories are to be conjoined with the psychological approach to achieve a balanced account of the internal and external factors involved in the translating process. Practically, empirical research may be applied to investigating various agents involved in the decision-making process when anchored in specific socio-cultural systems. Furthermore, a sustainable descriptive model for translation analysis is to be sought in the hope of obtaining representative textual findings corresponding to those arising from the study of the translating process in order to present a holistic picture of the translation behaviour under discussion.

2.2 A Review of Work on the Translation of Political Discourse

2.2.1 Translating Political Discourse in the Western Context

Ever since translation studies emerged as an independent discipline in the 1970s, the nature of translation studies as a socio-culturally constrained practice has gradually been recognised. As introduced in the above section, there has been a tendency to move away from the pure linguistic approach to an interdisciplinary and integrative perspective to translation studies.

As Schäffner (2004) has pointed out, translation studies have always used concepts and methods of linguistics, text linguistics, pragmatics, and discourse analysis in its own disciplinary discourse. However, although CDA plays a key role in spreading awareness of language use in a way to reveal how power relations are interwoven into discourse within socio-cultural structures, it has not made use of translation studies concepts to a similar extent. Therefore, discourse analysis and translation studies can benefit from closer cooperation.

Recent years have seen a number of research publications on translations of political or other ideologically-mediated texts. Let us take Schäffner's (2004) seminal work *Political Discourse Analysis from the Point of View of Translation Studies* as a starting point. It is generally argued that to explore political discourse from a translation point of view can shed new light on understanding politics.

She maintains that from a functional perspective the use of language in the constitution of social groups can be viewed as political discourse in a broad sense. On the other hand, there are some types of texts and talk which are in a prototypical sense concerned with political beliefs and practices of a society and crucial in constituting and managing political group. It is mainly these 'prototypical' political texts that have been the object of political discourse analysis.

By examining excerpts of published translations of political texts against the original texts, Schäffner claims that translation is involved as an intermediary process for the production of political discourse and that political discourse relies on translation which is part of the development of discourse. She emphasises the exploration of causes and effects of translation products by linking translations to their social contexts. But it seems that the plausible mechanism that could actually link translations to the social conditions is left relatively under-discussed. It is illuminating that she recognises that, like translation, CDA also mediates between linguistic structures and the socio-political contexts of text production and reception. However, the relationship between translation and CDA remains vague, and it does not appear well-grounded in terms of the linkage between linguistic structures and social factors.

Schäffner has also made other valuable contributions to the translation studies of political discourse. In her earlier work, she proposed *strategies of translating political texts* from a functional perspective (Schäffner 1997a). She argues against the need for conforming to text-typological conventions of the target community because political

texts rarely display highly conventionalised features. In translating diplomatic discourse in multinational institutions, for example, violations of syntactic rules are tolerated due to ‘the more important functions of referring practices in negotiation’ (ibid: 122). It is immediately argued that this is clear evidence that linguistic aspects of translation are moderated by a set of ‘overarching functional and socio-cultural strategies of cross-cultural communication’ (ibid: 122) embodied in different text types and genres.

According to Schäffner, ‘the most important factor determining the particular textual make-up of the TT is its function in the target language community’ (ibid: 138). The functional features of the ST and TT are illustrated in the notion of text type. Given that each political text type has its own text-typological and contextual features, different translation strategies are called for in the course of fulfilling the TT text type functions which are often different from those of the ST.

In the same volume, Trosborg (1997) identifies the translation of a special text type in the institutional context of EU (European Union), i.e. hybrid political texts. Hybrid political texts are typically produced in a supranational organization ‘as an outcome of negotiations between cultures and norms and conventions involved as well as through translation’ (ibid: 146).

As has been argued, the ST of the hybrid text is a pseudo-text created as a compromise between several languages and largely devoid of communicative purposes, which enables its translations into different languages to have a defined intended readership. In this sense, the translations of hybrid texts function as instances of primary communication. Although this particular text type in question seems of little relevance to this study, the communicatively-oriented perspective and the illuminating argument can shed much light on the translation studies of political discourse in general. Of more interest is the socio-cognitive approach deriving from the socio-cognitive theory of genre (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995) integrated into the

analytical toolkit. It is intended that the nature of translation and the translation practice of hybrid texts are described within the categories of this approach. However, the boundary between text type and genre is largely blurred in the employment of the theoretical categorization, which may lead to some contemplation of whether the socio-cognitive entailment is effectively reflected in the analysis of the political text type.

In the article entitled *Political Texts as Sensitive Texts*, Schäffner (1997b) views the translation practice in the field of politics from a slightly different perspective. The notion of 'sensitivity' can encompass a specific aspect of translation problems which do not merely arise from linguistic differences. As Schäffner explicitly expresses, sensitivity of political texts is a functional concept. A thematic continuity is thus maintained in her work in terms of the recognition that the ST and TT are mostly embedded in different situations and that they fulfill different functions in their respective situations and cultures. Several cases of sensitivity are subsequently identified, concerning the changes of functions in the SL and TL communities, diplomatic negotiations in the production process of political texts and terminological issues for conforming to a specific institutional discourse.

It is of interest to note that the intertextual relations are accounted for in the analysis of the political translations, as Schäffner states that the TT production 'can be characterised as induced both by the ST and by previous TTs which function as target language reference points' (ibid: 136). Although the issue of intertextuality in translation is not made very explicit and only dealt with in passing, it suggests an initial mechanism for the continuing attempt to link the TT surface structure to a wider discursive and social context. The conclusion is tinted with a slight cognitive flavour, although it could have been more extensively discussed in the main body, by indicating that cognitive reasoning processes triggered by surface structures can be helpful for both text comprehension and translation practice. It is further explained that linguistic formulations chosen by speakers are based on their shared

culture-specific knowledge with the audience and indicative of subtle changes in political decisions or certain ideological or diplomatic concerns.

In recent years, the analysis of the translation of political texts has gradually paid more attention to the ideological and power relations involved in the translation of such texts. Bánhegyi's (2008) translation study of Canadian political discourse has benefited from an integrative approach which includes proposition analysis, socio-cognitive analysis and CDA with a view to investigating the power play and persuasion involved in the source and target text production. In establishing detailed microstructures for the semantic relations of the actual propositions in both ST and TT segments, it is intended to explore whether there are added or shifted evaluative predicates created by translators at the crucial structural nodes of the texts.

With the help of van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory (2002), it is demonstrated the identified predicates within the propositional structures contain internalised evaluative beliefs formed in text production. During the interaction between personal beliefs and social norms, the manipulative communicative aims intended by text producers are also revealed under the name of CDA. Of practical interest is the extensive discussion of stylistic issues following the multi-level comparative analysis of the ST and TT. Although Bánhegyi has offered a sensible model for the translation studies of political discourse, there remains a common concern over the plausibility of this exceedingly detailed textual approach to analysing a large corpus of texts.

Munday's (2007) contribution fills part of the gap by studying essential questions regarding ideology and language from a translation studies perspective. He gives credit to van Dijk (1998)'s broadened notion of ideology which breaks away from a purely political sense to 'encompass the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of the individual and the society in which he or she operates' (Munday 2007: 196). Commented on by Munday as 'a more balanced approach' (ibid), this cognitive focus of 'ideology' gives individuals a certain degree of autonomy to produce and

understand discourse in a specific social and historical context.

It goes without saying that Munday's statement has provided some theoretical buttressing for the analytical framework of this study. Although he seems to deliberately avoid the typology of 'covert' or 'overt' translation (House 1977; 2009), the phenomenon is called into attention where some texts would be commonly read as if they were originally written in the target language and appeared as 'an unmediated work' (Munday 2007: 197). In terms of translating political texts, the distinction between covert or overt translations is always fuzzy, depending on which perspectives to take. From the text producers' point of view, translations of political texts are intended to take on the guise of an unmediated work of the originals. On the other hand, the level of awareness of overtly translated work amongst the target audience remains relatively high. It is however still up to translation studies analysts to undertake a systematic comparison between STs and TTs and identify the shifts that have occurred. Munday's call for 'a meticulous source-target text description' (ibid) lends weighty support to the methodological dimension of the current study aiming to conduct a comprehensive descriptive studies to bring to the fore the unnoticed and context-dependent shifts of the TTs.

Insightfully, in the concluding remarks Munday cautions against an indiscriminate slant towards ideology and power in applying CDA into translation studies given the fact that some translation shifts are made out of the translators' unique personal experience or simply his or her linguistic deficiencies. It is suggested that more deliberations be given to the bilingual conditions where CDA operates. In response to the quest of whether a translation shift results from the idiosyncratic behaviour of individual translators or regulations of social norms, there must be a need to carry out a well-grounded contextual analysis of a substantive corpus of data complemented with some level of proper empirical research on the institutional operation of translation practice.

In the same volume, Kang (2007) mainly explores how the image of North Korea is reconstructed in translation based on a comparative analysis of news stories on North Korea published in *Newsweek* and its translated Korean edition. It is found that the negative images of North Korea and its leader are mitigated and even nullified in the TTs as a result of a ‘perspectivisation’ (ibid: 236) strategy employed by the socially-shaped institutional constraints of the North Korean news agency. It is argued that news translation as a process of recontextualisation is anchored not only in the institutionalised translating context but also by the news target readership which must be appealed to. It is of relevance to note that van Dijk’s notions of positive self and negative other representations are employed to partly account for the translation strategies involved although Kang’s approach is not explicitly cognitively oriented. Despite a different genre with which this article is concerned, it shares a great number of similarities with the present research, in terms of the complex set of institutional goals and procedures, socio-cognitively constituted discursive resources and issues of ideology and power involved in text production.

Aimed to raise the awareness of the complexity of the translation process and avoidance of the simplistic view which regards political discourse translation as the mere process of message transfer from one text to another, Nahrkhalaji (2009) adopts a critical approach to analysing written discourse and intends to take the investigation of ideological relationships to the more applied spheres of translation. Emphasis is put on explaining ‘why the knowledge of both micro- and macro-text processing and awareness about the process of naturalization of ideologies on discourse levels should form an essential portion of the translators’ skills’ (ibid: 494). This work has a direct impact on the present study with respect to the application of CDA approach to translation studies of political discourse and the explicit argument that the complexity of the translation process and translators’ selections is ideologically driven.

Growing out of the recognition that translation is an ideologically-embedded social practice, Isbuga-Erel (2007) develops an integrated approach which combines CDA

with Descriptive-Explanatory Translation Studies to explore the changing practice of translation in Turkish society based on translated literary texts. It is argued that translated texts ‘offer a readily available and reliable source of research’ (ibid: 61) to bring ideologically-motivated mediation to the surface amid the underlying socio-political factors.

Two reasons are presented regarding the compatibility of socio-cognitive and historical CDA models and Descriptive-Explanatory Translation Studies. Firstly, both CDA and TS models depend on the socio-political background as the governing factor in text or discourse production and consumption. Secondly, CDA models can provide insight to translation both as product and process as both of them are descriptive and explanatory in nature (ibid: 60). Therefore, in spite of the divergence of genre (literary texts) selected as data, the methodological dimension can contribute significantly to fulfilling the tenet of this study in terms of relating translation strategies to ideological reasoning governed by power relations.

Following Hatim and Mason’s (1997: 143) well-known distinction between translation of ideology and ideology of translating, it is generally acknowledged that ‘both aspects play a role’ (Schäffner 2003: 26) and are mostly interdependent. After the review of the former aspect from various perspectives, it seems worthwhile to comment on the major work regarding the latter. Tymoczko (2003) reflects on the ideology of translation and position of the translators by exploring both process and product of translation. She seriously takes issue with the seemingly innocuous claim that the translators occupy a space between, stating that translators can be positioned within the target culture as in most cases, within the source culture typically for political purposes, or elsewhere in a third culture. It is subsequently argued that ideology of translation resides in translation being an affiliating and collective action to accommodate different orientations. Therefore, ‘the discourse of a space in between obscures the necessity of such collective work’ (ibid: 201) and even obstructs the understanding of the nature of translation. This recognition of the position of the

translators leads to the redefinition of the 'loyalty' of translators as being committed to a cultural framework, whether that framework is the source culture, the target culture, or a third culture. The most illuminating point in Tymoczko's contribution lies in the awareness of 'other' non-Western translation practices (Pérez 2003: 20) which chiefly operate within the source culture. This is what the ongoing study intends to explore and contribute to the largely unknown field 'in dominant TS circles' (ibid).

In her more recent work, Schäffner (2003) has opted for a multidisciplinary approach to investigating political texts, incorporating CDA into the descriptive translation studies. She probes into the production of a special text type, a joint manifesto produced by the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party in 1999. Due to the common purposes of the joint documents, the factors of parallel text production are absorbed into the translation practice. That is, both the German and the English version should function alternatively as ST and TT with many parts of the texts being produced in parallel (ibid: 27). Interestingly there were no professional translators involved in the team of text producers and the team was officially led by prominent politicians in charge on both sides. This phenomenon vividly demonstrates the ideology and power play involved in text production.

In addition to the process of text production where ideology operates, she further argues that ideological aspects can also be revealed within a text itself both at the lexical and syntactic levels (ibid: 23). Her focus is thus on this textual approach to exploring how texts can fulfill different functions in different social and discursive contexts. As stated by Pérez (2003: 26), Schäffner has proven wrong the criticism against the linguistically-oriented research on translation because textual features can be aptly embedded into the social and ideological context of text production rather than isolated from the real world. Schäffner's textual approach to translation studies of political discourse has so far lent much insight into this study which will need to reasonably consolidate the CDA-combined theoretical foundation employed for

textual analysis.

It is enlightening to note that Mason (2008) more recently points out the significance of widening our focus on translation and translators to consider social, cultural and historical contexts as it 'has greatly enhanced our understanding of translation processes'. Moreover, he seems to acknowledge that the explicit engagement of CDA with issues of power and control would seem to fit well with the notion of translation as the outcome of manipulation. In this sense, as he suggests, 'CDA can reveal processes of control at work in texts and show how manipulation takes place'. Then it may further provide the empirical evidence needed to 'support claims about the translators' agency and about the powerful institutional, cultural and historic influences on translator behaviour'.

However, he does caution against the perennial blurring of the distinction between the meanings critical discourse analysts read into the texts and the actual meanings derived by actual readers. He therefore proposes to 'consider reader response and ways of investigating it' as a partial solution to the above concern raised in CDA approaches in relation to both discourse analysis and translation studies. This work would be of great relevance to the present CDA-related translation studies of political discourse, especially given the balanced presentation of viewpoints from both the proponents and the critics.

Although the above literature on political translation is largely discussed within the framework of institutional translation, it would still be necessary to specify the seemingly taken-for-granted term 'institutional translation' given the focused scholarly interest in this field. As pointed out by Koskinen (2011: 54) and Kang (2011: 141), the term 'institutional translation' is problematic, as on the most all-encompassing level it is fair to say that translation is a social institution on its own right and that all translation is thus institutional. In practice, however, most studies focus on the 'institution' in a concrete sense that fits well with 'the traditional,

administrative understanding' (Koskinen 2011: 56). In this sense, institutional translation refers to translating in or for specific organisations for the purpose of 'speaking' to a particular audience (Kang 2011; Koskinen 2008).

Based on this definition, the research on institutional translation is concerned with the organisational, socio-cultural, ideological or historical aspects of a translating institution and their impact on translators as well as the process and product of translation (Kang 2011). As Mayoral Asensio (2003) states, in a globalising world, our official institutions increasingly depend on translations of official documents to be discursively represented. Conversely, it makes sense to state that official documents are the textual manifestations of the impact of the institutional conditions (norms, constraints, etc.) on the translation activity. This insight touches on the tenet of this study which aims to investigate power and control involved in the political translation practice in the Chinese institutional context through the analysis of the textual features of institutionally produced translations.

2.2.2 Translating Political Discourse in the Chinese Context

Following the above review of translation studies of political discourse, it can be noted that the ongoing translation practices in non-Western contexts are strikingly under-addressed. In order to gain a balanced understanding of the research background it is therefore of great importance to look into this issue in the Chinese scholarly context. There are mainly two strands of research on political translation in China. The first is generally attributed to official or professional Chinese translators who have been extensively involved in translating and interpreting practices in the political domain. Given this situation, their work is primarily based on the experience and knowledge that they have accumulated in the involvement of the institutional operation of political translation. The focus is mainly on identifying the factors that govern the translation behaviour by pinpointing instances that could illustrate both the decision making process and the considerations behind translation products.

The majority of this kind of research focuses on the exploration of pragmatic criteria for political translations and subsequent strategies to meet them (Cheng 2002; 2004; Huang 2004; Wang 2002). Earlier critique was largely based on the experience accumulated in translating ‘Mao’s Selected Works’ which has been favourably received in the English-speaking world and domestically considered as a classic of Chinese political translations (Fei 2000: 50). It was almost universally emphasised that accuracy is the overriding institutional norm governing the translation of political texts. It manifests itself most importantly in the faithful rendering of political connotations in the STs tailored to various political settings (Xu 2000; Cheng 2002; 2004; Guo 2002; 2005; Wang 2002; Shi 2004; Yuan 2005; Sun and Yang 2006; Lu 2008). As Cheng (2002: 110-11) points out, political awareness is crucial for translating political texts in any country with any political system because it is where a country’s basic interests reside. Secondly, translations should resemble the originals in terms of forms and styles (Cheng 2002; 2004; Wang 2002; Lu 2002; Yuan 2005; Lu 2008).

In recent years, the agenda for political translation has been innovated to adjust to the needs of international political communication. A new principle of ‘Three Accommodates’ has been announced to guide the translation practice at the macro level, which is expressed as ‘accommodate the situations in China, accommodate needs of foreign receptors in terms of their information acquisition, accommodate the thinking patterns of foreign receptors’ (Huang 2004: 27). Under this guidance, some translation practitioners have raised refreshing points in this field. Huang (2004) states that translators should further take into account cultural and linguistic differences and try to bridge the cultural gaps in translation.

Zhang (2004) points out the bureaucratic tone which hinders the reception of the TTs amongst target audience. This prevailing phenomenon in political translation partly results from the strategy of ‘playing safe’ because of the partial understanding of the

‘accuracy’ principle by merely rendering the ideational meanings (the experiential level of discourse to reflect social reality) and disregarding the interpersonal dimension of the original speeches. Thus Zhang calls for the reinterpretation of the ‘accuracy’ principle and special attention paid to the multi-functionality of political leaders’ speeches as well as the stylistic elements of the speeches. These findings shed new light on a fuller comprehension of the original Chinese speeches where style variations may be involved. This may pose further challenges to the translators and translation analysts as stylistic issues need to be duly considered in translation and to be adequately revealed in the analysis of political translations.

As another attempt to enhance TT reception, Tu (2005) proposes that political translation should be in a better informed position to adapt to the changes of global discursive context and to make special political terminologies more accessible to the target audience.

Another strand of research is undertaken largely by translation analysts who attempt to explore the practice of political translation in China by drawing on the Western translation theories. Fu (2001) and Wang (2008) emphasise the importance of a textually-oriented approach to translating political documents from Chinese to English with translators fully aware of the structural and textual differences between the two languages. Manipulation of the information will be needed for the STs to fit textual norms of the TT. According to Wang (2008), special attention should also be paid to establish deep semantic cohesion in the TT to facilitate target readership. This article thus reinforces the validity of this study in which the textual approach to political discourse study remains an effective vehicle to investigate the characteristics and changes of Chinese political translation underpinned by the overall discursive transformations.

From a functionalist perspective, Jia and Teng (2007) investigate the translation strategies of diplomatic documents. Postulated as one of the most important

functionalist approaches, Vermeer's (1978) Skopos theory serves as the theoretical foundation of the article. The entire analysis is developed around the three general rules stipulated by the theory, i.e. the Skopos rule, coherence rule and fidelity rule. As argued, the purpose of translation is determined by the reception of TTs amongst target audience, therefore the lingering issue of equivalence between ST and TT has become the compatibility between the purpose of translation and target reception.

This line of argument is particularly insightful to the analysis of political translation products which may seem as tangible outcome of the power balance between the purpose of translation initiated from the source context and the reception standard oriented in the target context. However, this work appears to be partly discredited by the partial integration of Venuti's domesticating and foreignising strategies into the analysis of political translation. Without adequate awareness of the conditions under which these strategies operate, they jump to the conclusion that domesticating strategy mainly functions at the cultural level while foreignising strategy functions at the linguistic level. As pointed out by Venuti (2005: 243), a detailed reconstruction of the cultural formation in which a translation is produced and consumed is necessary to determine whether domesticating or foreignising strategy is involved, and 'what is domestic or foreign can be defined only with reference to the changing hierarchy of values in the target-language culture'. The 'target-language' referred to by Venuti is exclusively the translators' mother tongue into which the original foreign text is translated, which is the opposite case in Chinese political translation. In this sense, the application of domesticating and foreignising strategies into the political translation in China is largely at issue.

More practically oriented, Yu (2008) claims that diplomatic translation is different from other kinds of translation because of its unique properties including political sensitiveness, topicality and binding institutional constraints. Based on the three general rules of Vermeer's Skopos theory she identifies three important factors governing the selection of translation strategies for Chinese political translation,

which are translators' intention, acceptability of translations and cultural specificities. This article offers practical guidance on this study, as these three factors may serve as key criteria to evaluate the textual products and consider their socio-political significations within a certain context.

Wang (2007) constructs the analytical framework using Toury's (1995) notion of norms based on the translation critiques contributed by Cheng (2002; 2004). As stated, Cheng indicates that political translation in China is more inclined to identify with the norm of 'adequacy' which places emphasis on the values in the source culture, but he also pays due attention to the norm of 'acceptability' which attends to the needs of the target audience. Wang argues that this view is not only shaped by ideological factors underlying the translation behaviour in a general sense, but also determined by the directionality of translation. It is because political translation in China is a kind of translation into a non-mother tongue commonly known as 'inverse translation' that is largely marginalised by the mainstream 'into mother tongue' translation behaviours.

This point is reiterated by Huang (2005) who argues against the view that 'translation into a non-mother tongue' is not a wise choice' (ibid: 31) and argues with the aid of statistics that a multitude of translations into foreign languages have to be undertaken by Chinese translators due to the highly limited number of competent translators who are able to translate Chinese into their mother tongue. This line of thought is especially illuminating to give credit to the majority of translational practices taking place in China and lay a pragmatic foundation for a more profound analysis of Chinese-English political translation.

2.3 Chapter Summary

The present literature on political translation from Chinese to English sheds much light on the purposes and processes of translation within the institutional context, and can serve as empirical evidences for the current translation study. However, the work

under review basically follows a normative or prescriptive approach in tone and content by identifying principles about what a translation should be like and justifying why translators have translated the way they have according to these principles. Thus little concern has been shown as to why translations should take on the prescribed form and how the macro-level principles can influence translators' choices at the micro discourse level.

Furthermore, translation is still simply or even erroneously viewed as an act of 'occupying the space between' and facilitating communication, which drastically impairs a profound understanding of the ideology and politics involved in translational practice. With respect to the work anchored in western methodologies of translation studies, there seems to be a significant lack of a comprehensive and consistent manner in critiquing the translational practice of political genre in China against the theoretical background of translation studies.

Meanwhile, inadequate work has been done in terms of employing a sound analytical framework that could account for the distinctive properties of political translation into 'a non-mother tongue'. On the other hand, in view of the previous literature review against the western backdrop, it is found that translational activities in the political realm still need to be further described and accessed under the notion of context and that the connections between translation and CDA as well as translation strategies and the underlying ideology have to be better accounted for in political discourse analysis. Meanwhile, as indicated by the interdisciplinary trend of translation studies urged by the recurring need to account for both translation products and translating process, there is a growing call for a sustainable descriptive model for translation analysis sought in hope of obtaining representative textual findings conjoined with those arising from the study of the translating process in order to present a holistic picture of the translation behaviour under discussion. The current research is thus aimed to project an initial attempt to fill part of this gap.

Chapter Three

CDA, Norms and Translation Studies

This chapter explores the theoretical framework of political discourse translation. It consists of two sections. The first section relates to the theories of CDA as the theoretical basis on which the study of political discourse is grounded. The rationale behind this is that CDA basically investigates the relationship between language and power which are the core issues involved in analysing political discourse. Oriented in the active socio-political discourse analyses proposed in the CDA approaches, the second section elaborates on the theoretical implications with respect to the specific issue of political discourse translation under the notion of translation norms on the basic premise of the cultural-social bound nature of CDA and translation norms.

3.1 CDA and Translation Studies

3.1.1 An Overview of CDA Theories

CDA treats language use as a social practice and attempts to uncover the dialectical relationship between language and society of which people are not normally aware (Fairclough 1989, van Dijk 1993, Wodak 1989). The essential inspiration emanates from Critical Linguistics (CL) which views language as ‘an integral part of social process’ (Fowler et al. 1979: 189). Fowler et al. (1979) set up their argument for CL based on the assumption that ‘there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure’ (ibid: 185). In other words, the basic contention for CL is that ideology is linguistically encoded and the most effective way to decode the ideologically demystified meanings is by studying the discourse.

In the subsequent decades, this discourse analytical model has undergone flourishing multidisciplinary developments concerning the areas of social theories, sociolinguistics, and psychology. The unitary paradigm presented by CL has gradually

been replaced by a theoretically and analytically diverse model, widely known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA aims for a more comprehensive study of the relations between discourse, power, and social inequality in the social and political context. The shared interests of CDA scholars lie in the acknowledgement of discursive practices as ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. Specifically, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80), the main tenets of CDA could be summarised as addressing social problems, recognising power relations as discursive, discourse being ideological and historical as well as constituting society and culture, and discourse analysis being interpretative and explanatory.

It is worthy of note that Fairclough (2006) recently develops a more sophisticated formulation of 'ideology' in the context of globalisation where the relationship between discourse and social process is innovated and reinterpreted. As he argues, although discourses are theoretically perceived as creating and shaping actual processes, such as globalisation, there are 'discourses which can be shown to not adequate for real processes' (ibid: 4). In this case, certain levels of social influence are involved to use these discourses to create and sustain unjust or unequal positions and relations of power. In this sense, this phenomenon can be regarded as mediated by power and ideology.

3.1.2 Major CDA Models

According to van Dijk (1993), CDA is innately not a specific direction of research, therefore it does not have a unitary analytical framework. He further points out that CDA is 'obviously not a homogenous model, not a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis' (ibid: 131). In order to gain a brief overview of its main strands, three prominent models will be assessed hereafter, as they have significantly contributed to the development of CDA.

The first model is that of Fairclough whose contributions have been predominantly influential over more than the past ten years. Fairclough's CDA approach is deeply socialised and textually oriented. He draws upon a number of key critical social concepts for his theoretical underpinnings of CDA, such as Foucault's formulation of the constitutive nature of discourse and the primacy of intertextuality of discursive practice, Gramsci's concept of hegemony for investigating political and ideological dimensions of discursive practice, and Habermas's notion of colonization of discourse in the discursive struggle for power.

Halliday's view of language as social semiotic (Halliday 1978) simultaneously performing functions within the social context provides useful insights into Fairclough's theoretical framework. It is asserted by Fairclough (1992: 8) that the functional approach to language use can fruitfully be incorporated into his emphasis on socially constructive properties of discourse as suggested in the above social-theoretical approach to discourse.

The second model in question is van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA. He holds that 'one of the crucial elements of the analysis of the relations between power and discourse is the patterns of access to (public) discourse for different social groups' (van Dijk 1993: 249). The thrust of his contributions is the perception of a socio-cognitive interface between power and discourse. The relevance of socio-cognition is viewed as theoretically essential to relate macro-level notions such as group dominance and inequality with micro-level notions such as meaning, as well as text and talk.

The third model should be attributed to Wodak's approach which is discourse-historical oriented. Wodak believes that discourse is 'always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before' (Wodak & Ludwig 1999: 12). Based on large corpora of empirical data, the connection between

texts, fields of action, genres, and discourses is described and interpreted with the historical contexts integrated into the analysis. The emphasis on the historical contexts of discourse in the process of interpretation is considered the distinctive feature of this approach.

3.1.3 A CDA Approach to Translation Studies

Amongst the various approaches to CDA, the models developed by Fairclough and van Dijk have been particularly instrumental to this study. Given its product-oriented nature of this study, text is the basic unit of analysis, as claimed by Neubert (1985) and Schäffner (1998) that the focus of translation studies has changed from reproducing meanings to reproducing texts within certain socio-political contexts. Thus texts and their contexts of communication are what translators and translation analysts operate on. To establish a framework for presentation of basic notions of text and context in political discourse analysis, Fairclough's text-based model and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to interpreting context are found particularly insightful for the thorough investigation of translated discourse in this study.

It is also worth mentioning that theoretical evidence suggests that there are substantial similarities or interconnectedness between Wodak's model and those of van Dijk's and Fairclough's. In the later work of Wodak's, she explicitly comments on the importance of socio-cognitive theories to CDA and admittedly claims that van Dijk's approach has been influential for her work in guiding many of her theoretical approaches and thoughts (Wodak 2006). Like Wodak, Fairclough calls for a method for historical analysis in discourse analysis which should focus on the long-term constitution of discursive practices in society. The investigation of relationships between discursive and social change remains consistent throughout his line of arguments.

3.1.4 Fairclough's Model

In order to operationalise its analytical considerations, the theoretical framework will

be sketched in the subsequent paragraphs. This thesis gains many insights from the Fairclough's (1992; 1993) three-dimensional model of CDA in which text, discursive practice and social practice operate dialectically within every discursive event.

Text, in Fairclough's words, is the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event (Fairclough 1993: 138). Following Halliday's systemic functional point of view towards language, texts are the configurations of representation and signification of world experience, constitutive of social identities and interpersonal relations. Text analysis is conducted with the emphasis on linguistic exploration of textual elements, such as the lexis used for indexing social identities, the organisation of clauses and relations between them, and textual organization indicative of the broader discourse structure in the discursive situation.

The intermediate level of discursive practice functions as the link between text and social practice, focusing on the way a text is produced, interpreted and consumed. Fairclough (1992: 78) points out that the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social conditions. It is proposed that the analysis at this dimension should combine the 'micro-analysis' and 'macro-analysis' (ibid: 85). The former refers to the detailed textual analysis outlined above. The latter hints at the description of the 'orders of discourse' i.e. the relevant broader discursive context in which the text is situated, in order to understand the nature of the resources being drawn on for the production of texts. In other words, 'orders of discourse' mainly encompasses the notion of intertextuality which denotes the links between one text and its prior texts and other categories of text (Fairclough 1997: 119). According to Fairclough (ibid: 86), it is because of the interrelationship between the micro-and macro-analysis that the dimension of discursive practice can mediate between text and social practice.

The third dimension of social practice relates discourse to the notions of ideology and power. Drawing on the relevant sociological concepts, Fairclough (ibid: 87)

formulated his own notion of ideology for discourse analysis. Ideology is interpreted as significations of social reality, which are built into various dimensions of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination. The central task of CDA is postulated as exposing of the effectively embedded ideologies in discursive practices at both micro-and macro levels mentioned above. To attain a better understanding of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, diagram 1 on page 38 is provided to illustrate the relations between text, discursive practice and social practice.

A well-known aspect of the critiques of CDA is the convenient blurring of major concepts for interpretation (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Widdowson 1995; 1998). Given the disparate terms used for various discourse-related domains, it would be conducive to explain and differentiate them herein to accommodate the needs of this study.

As shown in the diagram 1, text, located at the very end of the spectrum of discourse and society, is the textual dimension of discourse in the present study, referring to the written form of language produced in a discursive event. Or couched in a catchy term, it is the purified form of discourse. By 'purified', it means that the term 'text' is relatively independent of social interaction and deprived of other semiotic elements, such as the prosodic and paralinguistic features presented in the flow of the real-time speech.

Situated in Fairclough's definition of discourse as a form of social practice, the notion of discourse used in this study tends to focus on the intra-textual facet to facilitate text analysis. Compared to text, the notion of discourse in Fairclough's theoretical formulation is endowed with a sense of social interaction, which refers to language use conceived as social practice (Fairclough 1993: 138). As Fairclough puts it, discourse is both socially shaped and socially shaping, which determines the central task of CDA as to explore the tension between the two sides of language use (ibid:

134).

When it comes to the discursive dimension as frequently embodied in the terms ‘discursive practice’ and ‘discursive event’, a wider scope of textual operation is involved in terms of the production and consumption of texts, interrelations with other discourse types, and interpretation and explanation within contexts of situation.

What lies at the other end of the spectrum is social practice which is largely considered as the non-discoursal elements on the surface, but it is the undercurrent force to effect discursive changes and subsequently bring about changes upon the discoursal elements located near the other end of the scale. In sum, this diagram helps to formulate the internalisation of discoursal and non-discoursal/social elements as represented by the set of terms. It also indicates that discursive practice serves as the intermediate link between discoursal and non-discoursal elements.

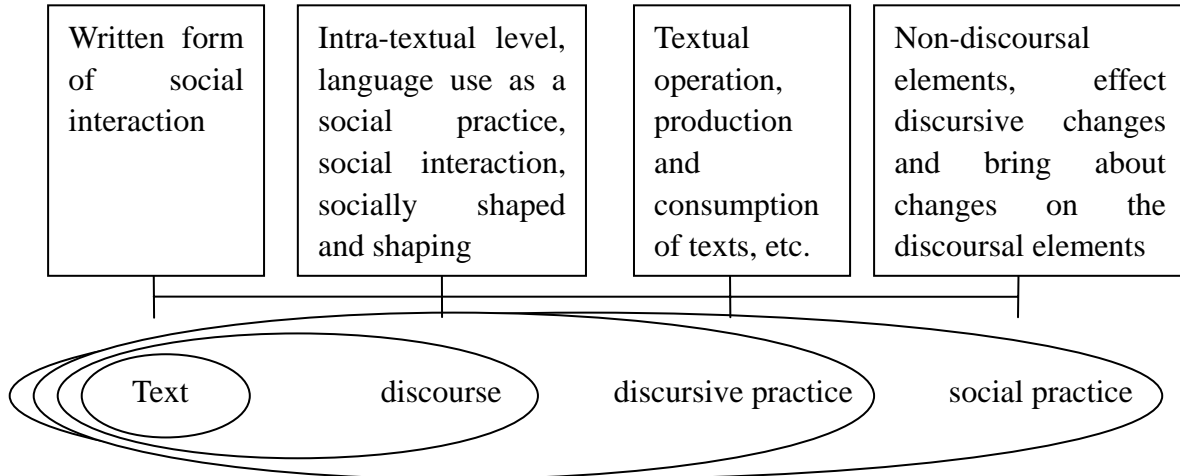


Diagram 1: Relations between Text, Discourse, Discursive Practice and Social Practice

Indeed, one focus of his study is the discursive change in relation to social and cultural change. In his view, the problematisation of social and political conventions is the origin and motivation of discursive change in society. Depending on the nature of social organisation, social participants tend to resolve the problematisations by

creatively and innovatively adapting existing conventions in new ways, thus contributing to the changing operation of discursive events. The changing practices of discursive events will have cumulative effects upon discourse practices. At the same time, the new ways in which discourse is being rewritten and reconstructed shed light on the emergence of new discursive contexts and revised patterns of social organization. This fulfils what Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1997, 2003) calls the dialectical view of the relationship between discoursal and non-discoursal elements of social life. In other words, this insight is synonymous with the essence of the concept of discourse in that language use, manifested as discoursal elements, is both shaped by social conventions and constitutive in 'socially reproductive ways' (Fairclough 1993: 134) of the changing practices of social organisations, known as non-discoursal elements.

3.1.5 Van Dijk's Construction of Context Models for CDA: a Socio-Cognitive Perspective

Based on the prevalent critical assessment of CDA, the locus of critique lies in the deterministic view of the relations between social factors and texts. (van Leeuwen 2006) This weakness mainly results from the theoretical inclination towards the explicit social and political goals pre-set by CDA analysts, leading to the selectivity and partiality of the analytical outcomes. In response, it is suggested that a dynamic concept of context needs to be involved for concrete instances of text and talk to be analysed more satisfactorily and more convincingly anchored in the macro-level socio-political resources (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 460)

3.1.5.1 Knowledge-mediated Context Models

What is primarily at issue is how to account for the important notion of context. As pointed out by van Dijk (2002, 2006), traditional concepts of context generally assume a more or less direct relationship between socio-political elements and the structures of discourse. Van Dijk further remarks that socio-political constraints do not directly influence discourse because there is no conditional or causal connection

between social or power groups and discourse structures due to the very different natures they have. There should be an interface to accommodate the contextual elements so that social resources and discourse could be connected (van Dijk 2006: 162). The ‘interface’ that van Dijk alluded to is the cognitively defined notion of context.

Specifically, context is defined as mental constructs from a participant perspective, enabling it to function as the interface between situational and societal structures and discourse structure, because they subjectively represent relevant aspects of societal situations and directly interfere in the mental processes of discourse production and interpretation. Van Dijk asserts that if contexts control discourse at all, it is only possible when contexts are conceived as cognitive structures of some kind (ibid: 163). This concern is echoed in the relatively recent work of Chilton’s (2005), he notes that CDA should attend to the cognitive dimension in the analysis of discourse in social and political contexts. It is postulated that CDA cannot seriously claim to make a contribution to discourse analysis without taking account of the highly sophisticated models of representation.

One might argue that Fairclough (1992) mentions the socio-cognitive dimension in discourse production. This move may be seen to supposedly remedy the heavily socialised direction of his model in which discourse is explicitly related to the social conditions of production. However, this line of thought has not been developed to the extent to which it can be applicable and thus cannot account for the relations between discourse and society to a satisfactory level.

Given the complexity of human mental constructs in the course of social interaction, it must be firstly spelled out that this study does not intend to detail a cognitive theory, but to show the relevance of text-context relationships from a socio-cognitive perspective. Following the initial intent of van Dijk (2006: 163), it is not within the scope of the study to prove the existence of minds, so that one theoretical requisite is

to take their existence for granted in the same way as we do with other abstract non-observable entities such as society, politics, culture and power.

Like the existence of minds, context is a more or less unobservable notion. According to van Dijk (ibid: 164), 'contexts are only observable by their consequences on discourse'. Here 'consequences of discourse' could be construed as the projection of social participants' interpretations of communicative situations onto the observable parameters such as discourse and text. Thus, van Dijk gives immense credit to the role of text as the basis for discourse analysis. In his words, contexts are only interesting for discourse analysts 'because they involved language use, text, or talk as its constituent or component practical activity' (ibid: 165). Similarly, textual analysis is accorded greater importance by Fairclough as foundation in discourse analysis based on the understanding that texts provide evidence of lasting processes such as the reconstruction of knowledge and identities and the redefinition of social relationships (Fairclough 1992: 97; Titscher et al 2000: 152). This fits well with the tenet of this thesis which brings together a range of texts composed in different periods under scrutiny. For the purposes of this study which is geared towards the practical and empirical analysis of textual data, the cognitive account will be subsequently simplified to a few basic concepts purely for analytic considerations.

First of all, the notion of a mental model is crucial for discourse production and comprehension. It is construed closely with discourse processing. It should be assumed that the production and understanding of discourse prominently involve the formation, activation or actualisation of a mental model as a representation of long-stored personal experiences. Hence a mental model is a subjective representation of the events in which discourse is produced. Indeed, the construction of mental models is based on everyday events. 'Mental models have culturally based (and hence variable) schematic structures' (van Dijk 2006: 169). To put it another way, the somewhat vague traditional notion of 'making sense of texts' involves the production or actualisation of a mental model. It is through the handy schematic structures

manifested in mental models that people are able to understand variably represented discourse.

After the above informal but practical characterisation of mental models, it is time to move on to the highly related concept — context models. Like the subjective nature of mental models, context is a participant's 'subjective definition of the situation' (van Dijk 2009: 5). In van Dijk's formulation, a context is 'what is defined to be relevant to the social situation by the participants themselves' (ibid.). Context models are thus defined as 'the participants' mental models of communicative situations' (van Dijk 2006: 170). They share some general features with other mental models: they are representations of the long-stored personal experiences; and they are 'subjective and organised by a handy schema that allows language users to quickly understand the vast amount of possible communicative situations in their everyday lives' (van Dijk 2006: 170). In his more recent work, van Dijk (2008, 2009) offers a more concrete conceptualisation of context models in relation to mental models. For a mental model of an accident, a person may come up with different versions when talking to a friend, than when giving evidence to the police. The reason behind this phenomenon is that the language user needs to construct a mental model of the very communicative event which is interpreted as a context model. In other words, it is the context model that manages the mental model of an event as to what knowledge will be considered as relevant for the immediate communicative situation.

As 'the basis of our pragmatic understanding of discourse' (van Dijk 2006: 170), context models accordingly possess the following properties to fulfil this important function. The initial design of context models entails the 'plans' that precede all discourse based on the presupposed knowledge of the upcoming events. Secondly, the construction of contexts models provides the possibility of understanding discourse production and interaction beyond the linear meaning of mere speculation of the relationship between discourse and communicative events. Thirdly, context models feature the dynamically updated and adapted models of ongoing situations and are

capable of controlling ‘the appropriateness of each state of the developing discourse’ (ibid: 171). In sum, context models are intention-oriented and goal-directed mental models for interpreting and controlling the unfolding discourse.

So far the basic understanding of context models may have generally been achieved in terms of the key aspects of the processing and interpreting of discourse. But efforts still need to be invested at the level of operation, that is, more elaboration is called for to apply context models into the practical understanding of the discursal microstructures and macro-level socio-political resources.

In this case, the notion of knowledge is ideally suited to fill in the analytical gap. Knowledge is crucial for discourse production and comprehension and thus indispensable in van Dijk’s socio-cognitive framework of CDA. Different from most philosophical and psychological approaches to knowledge, van Dijk’s discourse-oriented definition of knowledge is well-suited for organising the context models to a satisfactorily applicable level. It is defined as the basic unit of ‘the organised mental structure consisting of shared factual beliefs of a group or culture’ (van Dijk 2002: 208). According to van Dijk (2006: 164), most knowledge is supposed to be implicitly and indirectly influencing discourse production and understanding, while occasionally it is signalled in discourse. In recognition of the fundamental mutual dependence of discourse and knowledge, van Dijk (2011: 27) further claims that ‘we acquire most of our knowledge by discourse, and without knowledge we can neither produce nor understand discourse’.

In a broad sense, context models sketched above can be pragmatically interpreted by means of the interaction of multi-level knowledge. For instance, the plausible context models of a political speech event must involve the interaction between the knowledge influenced by the speaker’s personal experiences, the presupposed or shared knowledge about participants’ roles and their relevant knowledge, social settings and political actions as well as the knowledge of institutionally constrained

discursive conventions.

Therefore, knowledge can be viewed as an effective device to concretise the vague notion of context from a cognitive perspective and control many aspects of discourse processing for textual analysis. This point of view is firmly grounded in van Dijk's theorising of knowledge as a cognitive device (K-device). K-device, as an indispensable parameter of context models, activates and makes available the other context-dependent parameters for discourse production and interpretation. Its importance can be summarised in his own remarks: 'whereas context models are the controller of all interaction and discourse, the K-device is itself the controller of the context model' (van Dijk 2005: 77).

In order for K-device to manage the inherently changing context models, it is necessary to expand the understanding of knowledge so that it can operate effectively and strategically. Basically there are three categories of knowledge: personal knowledge, group knowledge, and cultural knowledge. Personal knowledge is the knowledge about personal experiences. Unless communicated, it is private and not shared by others who do not participate in other relevant experiences (ibid: 78). Group knowledge is the socially shared knowledge by a specific group. Broadly speaking, the institutional or organisational knowledge distinguished in van Dijk's categorisation (ibid: 79) is included in this category because the institutional or organizational knowledge is by nature social knowledge shared by members of an institution or organisation which can be viewed as social groups in a general sense. Discursive activities within a group are facilitated by the presupposed group knowledge, whereas inter-group communication largely hinges on the awareness of group knowledge known to the participants of other groups. Cultural knowledge is the general knowledge shared by members of the same culture throughout society. It is the common ground for all discursive communications and hence is widely presupposed in discourse production across different groups within the same culture (ibid: 80). Therefore cultural knowledge is also known as 'Common Ground

Knowledge' (van Dijk 2002: 218). This type of knowledge is generally undisputed and taken for granted, and thus widely employed in public discourse.

Recently, van Dijk (2009) tends to add to the cognitively-oriented mental models a fundamental social dimension, given the concern that contexts are not only constructed through subjective personal knowledge derived from personal experience, but also primarily influenced by socially and culturally shared knowledge. It thus makes much sense to believe that any personal mental models of an event are based on socially and culturally shared representations of groups and societies. In addition, according to van Dijk (2006; 2008; 2009), the three categories of levels of knowledge are not fixed, but ongoingly constitutive of the K-device in its management of context models. In this light, discourse processing is about the process in which knowledge is shared and controlled among social participants.

3.1.5.2 Political Discourse and Political Cognition

At this juncture the knowledge-based notion of context and its relationship with discourse process has largely been illustrated; however, the integration of van Dijk's approach to context into the above sketched Fairclough's CDA framework entails another crucial theoretical dimension, that is, the role knowledge plays in constructing and sustaining power relations. This dimension links cognition and discourse as discussed above to politics, acting as the cognitive complement to the socially-oriented CDA approach. The absence of this link would definitely leave the socio-cognitive approach to CDA incomplete. This idea has been theoretically developed into a concept 'political cognition' based on the fact that political psychology has not been adequately involved in discourse and that the cognitive foundations of political discourse have been mostly disregarded (van Dijk 2002: 203).

Prior to the elaboration of this concept, it is necessary to understand the notion of power in the cognitive light. Social power can be summarily defined as a social relation between groups, involving the control by a more powerful group of the

actions and the minds of a less powerful group (van Dijk 1995: 10). As it almost goes without saying that human action is controlled by minds, it holds true that if minds are controlled by the management of knowledge actions will be indirectly controlled. This inference accounts for the cognitive grounding of the conception of power. In terms of the relation between power and discourse, it is assumed that access to specific forms of discourse is a crucial power resource (van Dijk 1995; 2001). It can be further validated that 'those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others' (van Dijk 2001: 355).

Given the interdependence between political cognition and (political) discourse, it is reasonable to examine political cognition against the production and comprehension of political discourse. Most discourse is produced and understood in terms of mental models that combine personal and socially shared group beliefs. In this way, the uniqueness of the single text and the similarity with a host of relevant other texts can be manifested in discourse production and understanding (van Dijk 2006b: 369). It is noted that the newly emergent notion of beliefs is hardly new here. Together with 'attitudes' and 'opinions' that may subsequently occur, these notions are socio-cognitively formed values specific to certain groups or cultures. They are considered as variations of group or cultural knowledge due to the relativity of the notion of knowledge, which means that the taken-for-granted knowledge embraced by one group or culture may be viewed as biased beliefs, attitudes and opinions (van Dijk 2002, 2005, 2006).

Political discourse is mainly produced based on the general and abstract group knowledge, whereas the concrete personal knowledge of the speakers' needs to be assimilated into the socially shared representations which can be named 'social representations' (Augoustinas & Walker 1995; Moscovici 2001; van Dijk 2006b). The privileged access to discourse management by powerful groups ensures the formulation and modification of the preferred models of social representations in a way to guide social participants' actions and communication. The most typical

preferred model is that of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2006b: 373). It involves the positive account of the facts and values in favour of intra-group interests and negative representations of other groups. There is always an underlying ideological purpose involved in this discourse strategy. In terms of the socio-cognitive respect, political ideology is understood as the naturalised socially shared knowledge as a result of discourse control by the powerful group members or elite group.

The awareness of the ideological manipulation of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is termed as the ‘global strategy’ (van Dijk 1993; 2006b) for discourse comprehension. As this ideological strategy is manifested through the key discourse structures consisting of topics, local semantics, style and rhetoric, discourse comprehension is realised in examining the micro-level discourse components against the context models.

Regarding the topical aspect, what knowledge is emphasised to be topical in a political speech is determined by the text producer’s context models formed in line with dominated ideologies. In this instance, it could be generally assumed that negative knowledge about ‘us’ will not be disseminated into the public discursive domain. Against such global meanings as topics, local meanings, termed as ‘local semantics’ (van Dijk 2002: 230), are expressed in sentences of text and talk. The goal-oriented context models have a significant bearing on the organisation of local meanings which not only influence the mental models of recipients but also leave traces for the ‘bottom-up’ critical investigation of political discourse.

3.1.6 The Fusion of van Dijk’s and Fairclough’s Models as an Integrative Approach

The above discussion of some components of discourse structures has clear socio-cognitive underpinnings. Although van Dijk has looked into the microstructures of text and talk, most of his analysis shows relative reticence to make fuller use of the

textual devices for a more detailed examination of discourse representations. In this respect, functional linguistics employed in Fairclough's textual dimension of discourse can be an ideal complement. Although functional linguistics does not adopt an overtly cognitive perspective for CDA, indeed, it shares a set of cognitively based assumptions and goals for analysing discursive structures (Langacker 1991; Li 2011). A key characteristic shared by Functional Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics is the fundamental assumption that language is seen as a medium to form experience and provide 'ways of looking at things' (Halliday 1973). Linguistic knowledge cannot be isolated from the various levels of contextual knowledge in that texts shape and are shaped by underlying construal operations which are ideological in nature (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Fauconnier 1994; Li 2011). At this point, it makes sense to say that CDA can benefit from the cognitively-oriented functional approach to examining discourse and power. This line of thought lies at the heart of the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis which integrates van Dijk's socio-cognitive perspective with Fairclough's socio-functional theoretical framework CDA.

A more explicit link needs to be forged between van Dijk's discourse structures and the relevant functional categories. The notion of topics in the former model is dealt with in a fairly general sense, referring to the information to be emphasised in discourse. Its counterpart in the functional model 'theme', however, has been elaborated to a satisfactorily operational level. Theme is 'the element which serves as the point of departure of the message' and helps to locate and orient the message within its context (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 64). It is considered one of the most prominent textual elements. By analysing the thematic structure of a text, we can gain an insight into the organisation of a text and look into the underlying concerns that the text producer has implicitly made available to us (ibid: 105). This is the point where topics, as a component of discourse structure, can be essentially applied to discourse analysis and facilitate discourse comprehension.

Similarly, local semantics seems to fit in well with the concept of transitivity.

Transitivity is concerned with how meaning is represented in a clause. As a semantic concept, transitivity involves the construal of the world of experience into a manageable set of process types (material, mental, relational, etc) with each type providing its own schema for construing a particular domain of experience (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 170). In conjunction with two other parameters — participants and circumstances, the semantic relations of ‘who does what to whom under what circumstances’ can be potentially related to context models in which participants interactions are organised into social representations manipulated by power groups.

The aspects of style and rhetoric are reflected at various levels of discourse structures. It is interesting to note that both Fairclough and van Dijk give a cognitive dimension to the notion of style. According to Fairclough, style involves ‘how participant relations are constructed’ in the schematic structuring of genre which is considered as a ‘socially ratified way of language use in connection with a particular type of social activity’ (1997: 14). Furthermore, van Dijk notes that style and rhetoric are monitored by context models (2002: 232). Properties of styles and rhetoric such as specific lexical and syntactic features may influence the construction of preferred mental models as well as the formation of particular attitudes and ideologies.

Finally, it seems fair to conclude that socio-cognition as mental models structuring ideologies can be more thoroughly investigated with the functional linguistic devices. Conversely, the functional approach to microstructures of discourse can be better related to the macro-level representations when governed by the cognitive insights into discourse production and comprehension. A functional-cognitive analysis of political discourse is able to map the salient textual components onto the underlying context models and socially shared group knowledge or attitudes.

3.1.7 Integration of CDA with Translation Studies

This section intends to explore the connection of the above outlined CDA models with translation studies of political discourse. Even since the emergence of translation

studies as an independent discipline in the 1980s, various approaches and perspectives have sprung up to conceptualise and theorise the practice of translation. Despite the varieties of branches that translation studies covers there has been some common ground for this academic area. As Trosborg (1997) maintains, translation, in a moderately broad sense, is a mode of intercultural communication. Culture should be understood here in a broader anthropological sense of all socially conditioned dimensions of human life (ibid: 146). Trosborg is quoted very often because of the socio-cognitive dimension that she gives to this concept on which translation studies and discourse analysis can be jointly based, thus forging a crucial link with the other dimensions of this thesis. More relevantly, she further identifies three ‘salient aspects’ (ibid).

- (1) the concept of culture as a totality of knowledge, proficiency and perception;
- (2) its immediate connection with behaviour (or action) and events;
- (3) its dependence on norms, whether those of social behaviour or those accepted in language usage (Vermeer 1986:33)

It is noted that aspect (1) is fundamental to the conceptualisation of ‘culture’ in that it marks out the cognitive orientation that positions this notion into a wide variety of social representations. The synthesis of cultural representations is embodied in knowledge which acts as a medium to relate to other conceptual aspects of social semiotics, such as discourse and translation activities. In this sense, the concept of culture is assimilated into the knowledge-mediated framework of discourse operations. Aspect (2) is reminiscent of the above discussed relation between a particular discursive event and its socio-political context in Fairclough’s model. In order to ground this relation in a sound manner, the notion of context model is introduced as a mental concept applied in communicative situations, deriving from van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach. As elaborated, context models can be observed and operated by the collaboration of various levels of knowledge, known as K-device. Culture goes regulated under the name of norms as aspect (3) has suggested. Norms are broadly seen as residing in the social consciousness that accounts for ‘social

regularity' (Hermans 1999: 80) or 'social reality of correct notions' (Bartsch 1987: 76; Chesterman 1997: 54). According to Chesterman, norms must be accessible to individual consciousness (ibid), which means that in order to take effect norms must be recognised by social participants in the form of individual knowledge.

At this juncture, it is enlightening to point out that knowledge is the underlying mechanism to hold together the aspects of culture as it does in its operation of discourse production and comprehension in the CDA framework. Meanwhile, as power and ideology are inevitably involved in translational behaviour, this phenomenon can be reinterpreted as a process of group knowledge transfer from source culture to target culture until an endorsed point is reached. At this point, the translation product may appear oriented towards the source or target culture, or settled somewhere on the scale between the two extremes, depending on which group in which culture holds more power and subsequently more discursive resources. In this sense, a socio-cognitive CDA insight into translation studies seems to enable a broadened and dynamic view towards the fundamental issue concerning source/target-oriented nature of translation, thus moving beyond the bewildering terminological diversity of the conceptual dichotomies under the names of domestication/foreignisation, covert/overt translation, and instrumental/documentary translation etc. Therefore it makes sense to assume that translation practice has substantive potential to be linked to the knowledge-mediated CDA paradigm for political discourse analysis as it basically can be viewed as a form of intercultural transfer of group knowledge.

3.2 Norms and Political Translation

It seems to be generally agreed that political translation in China is a norm-governed behaviour. The concept of norms has been constantly interpreted and reinterpreted in the last several decades. It gives resonance to Schäffner's statement that translation is never a homogeneous discipline and there is no agreement on many of its central

concepts (1998: 1). With no exception is the notion of norms. Like many concepts in translation studies, the concept of norms is socio-culturally embedded. Culture, as Swidler (1986: 273) maintains, influences human action ‘not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or tool kit of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct strategies of action’. Norms may be seen as part of the ‘tool kit’ (Toury 1999: 16). As the notion of norms originates from that of culture which is hardly pertaining to a set of prescriptive values, norms should be stripped of the regulatory sense and taken up as a descriptive notion for various purposes of socio-cultural studies.

Given the scope of this study, it seems reasonable to elaborate the notion of norms in the context of translation studies. It is generally acknowledged that Bartsch (1987)’s definition of norms has great influence in the field of translation studies (Chesterman 1997; Schäffner 1998). Norms are defined as the ‘social reality of correctness notions’ (Bartsch 1987: xii). From this perspective, the following two points can be perceived and are generally endorsed by translation theorists working on the notion of norms despite the different approaches they take.

Firstly, embedded in ‘social reality’, norms enable translation to be viewed as social practice. As Toury (1995: 55) spells out, norms are intended to ‘account for the social relevance of activities’ and help ensure the ‘establishment and retention of social order’ given the wide range of situations they apply to.

Secondly, norms function as social mechanism to regulate between appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. According to Hermans (1999a: 81-82), the socially defined appropriateness and inappropriateness form the content of norms. In addition, as norms originate and operate in society, power relations are inscribed in the multiple networks of norms (ibid: 82). In this sense, norms have a directive or prescriptive force as a matter of ‘social pressure’ (ibid), which means that members of a community are supposed to behave in an expected way.

Here it is important to note that norms are different from regulations which are largely prescriptive by nature, as has been carefully pointed out by Toury (1995 1999) who regard the latter as the manifestations or the evidences of norms. Or in Hermans's (1999a) view, it is merely manifested as the directive or prescriptive level of norms. This line of thought is echoed in Chesterman's endorsement of initiating norms in translation studies as he puts that norms 'allow modern translation scholars to take a distance from the prescriptiveness' (1999: 90).

3.2.1 Major Models of Translation Norm Theories

One way to improve the understanding of this notion would be to compare it with other similar concepts. Norm scholars (Toury 1999; Chesterman 1997; Hermans 1999a) tend to bring in norms, conventions and laws for comparison to highlight distinctive properties of norms. Norms are said to stand midway between conventions and laws (Chesterman 1997: 55). Conventions are formed naturally as an 'outcome of any striving for social order' (Toury 1999: 15), and sometimes regarded as 'implicit norms' (Hermans 1999a: 81) based on their lack of specific and binding characters to serve as a mechanism for the assessment of social behaviour. Conversely, norms can also be understood as stronger and binding versions of social conventions. At the other extreme of the scale, laws are absolute, objective and non-negotiable. They are established and enforced by authorities who have the power to penalise the law-breakers (Chesterman 1997: 55). In contrast, norms can be breached (Hermans 1999a; 1999b; Toury 1999). The breach of norms involves the exercise of sanction or initiation of new norms. Hermans (1999b: 86) gives a pragmatic account of sanction which falls into two types. Negative sanction is concerned with translators' loss of jobs, whereas positive sanction is expressed as a form of praise or rewards. The existence of sanction confirms the fact that norm is a social concept inscribed by power relations.

According to Toury (1999: 17), norms go on being negotiated by members of a group in which some are more instrumental than others in effecting changes in norms due to their specific status or positions. Hence new norms will be created. This view is of particular importance in two respects. First, it allows norms to be perceived dynamically. Under changing socio-historical conditions, norms can be altered as a necessary outcome of negotiation. Second, it gives prominence to translators' intentionality. This viewpoint suggests that translators do not merely 'mechanically respond to nods and winks, they also act with intent' (Hermans 1999a: 80). Following the interpretation of this dimension of norms, translation can be viewed as a process of balancing constraints with translators' agency. It thus makes some sense to say that the relationship between norms and translators' decision-making is not liable to be understood in a deterministic and behaviouristic way (Kruger 2011: 115). Although this is an interesting and revealing point to make, the extent to which translators' agency can operate against the institutional constraints needs further investigation in the context of political translation in China in later sections.

3.2.1.1 Toury's Norms

Scholars working on translation norms tend to devise theoretical models in their elaboration of this notion. It would be helpful to present a brief review of the influential models to gain not only a profound understanding of translation norms but also a suitable methodological guidance for the ensuing analysis of political translations.

The concept of norms was initially introduced into translation studies by Gideon Toury (1980b; 1995) to evaluate translational behaviours within social contexts. It serves as a theoretical basis for Toury's influential proposal of 'descriptive analysis of translation phenomena' (1980b: 57). For Toury, translation norms are socially contextualised and perceived as behavioural constraints which represent values shared by a social group. He views the notion as covering a scale of constraints with 'relatively absolute rules' and 'pure idiosyncrasies' anchoring between the two

extremes (Toury 1995: 54).

In order to operationalise this broad concept, Toury proposes a three-dimensional model to illustrate that all decisions in the translation process are governed by the norms encompassed in the model. The model starts with preliminary norms operating at the macro domains of translation policy and the directness of translation. Translation policy has to do with the factors that determine what text types or individual texts are to be imported through translation at a particular time. The directness of translation involves the tolerance or intolerance of a particular society for translating from mediating languages other than the authentic source languages.

The second dimension is concerning initial norms operating between adequacy and acceptability. Adequacy is determined by a translation's adherence to source norms, whereas acceptability refers to the adherence to norms originating in the target culture. This dichotomy seems reminiscent of Venuti's more politicised notions of foreignising and domesticating strategies (Baker 2001: 174). However, Toury admits that actual translation decisions will necessarily 'involve some ad hoc combination of or compromise between the two extremes implied by the initial norm' (1995: 57). This viewpoint again suggests a sense of broadness or even fuzziness in Toury's conceptualisation of norms. Given this concern, the delineation of initial norms is regarded as the most problematic aspect of Toury's norms as the terms (adequacy and acceptability) are commonly used by other translation critics for different significations (Hermans 1999a: 76-77). Thus some norm theorists tend to avoid the terms on account of ambiguity (Hermans 1999a; Chesterman 1997; 1999).

The third dimension is operational norms which, as the name suggests, have to do with directing the decisions during the translation act itself. Toury distinguishes between matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms. The former determines more general aspects of translation, i.e. the extent to which omissions, additions or other textual manipulations ought to be made in translated texts. The latter is concerning the

selection of specific textual material to create the TT, or replace the textual-linguistic material of the ST. The operational norms, if couched in more recent terms, can be seen as translation strategies involving text-type conventions (Snell-Hornby 2006: 75). They embody Toury's hallmark emphasis on the importance of target culture as he explicitly states that 'translations are facts of one system only: the target system' (1985: 19). This conviction implies that Toury's norms are generated under the target socio-cultural conditions and should be regarded as norms operating primarily in the target culture. Based on this characteristic, the feasibility of Toury's norms for the current study will be discussed against a fuller picture of the major theories of translation norms.

3.2.1.2 Hermans's Norms

Apart from Toury, Theo Hermans is also an influential contributor to the theoretical configuration of translation norms. Following the basic assumption shared by the 'Manipulation School' that 'from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a certain degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose (Hermans 1985: 11), Hermans seems to further elaborate on the impact of power relations on norms of translation. In contrast to Toury's bewilderingly broad continuum mentioned above, Hermans appears to reasonably narrow the range of norms down to a scale with rules and conventions as the two poles (Hermans 1999a: 79-85). As in the domains where power relations are playing a more dominant role such as political translation, the prescriptive force of norms prevails in a way that norms move away from conventions with the less reliance on 'mutual expectations and internalised acceptance', and more on 'codified rules in the form of explicit obligations and prohibitions' (ibid: 82). Thus, the term 'rule' is construed as 'a strong, institutionalised norm, often issued by an identifiable authority armed with the power to impose sanctions for non-compliance' (ibid). Due to the pervasive involvement of power relations in the multiple networks of norms, strong norms tend to acquire a mandatory force, stabilise over time and become institutionalised.

Hermans has also made two enlightening points with respect to institutional norms. One is pertaining to the dynamic character of norms that norms adjust to the changing appropriateness conditions informed by socio-political changes. Whilst norms change with circumstances and expectations, translators are considered by Hermans to follow suit or go against the changes (ibid: 84). However, due to the institutional constraints placed on the members, translators are supposed to mainly conform to the prevailing norms. This point correlates with the other which stipulates that the very act of observing norms starts from translator training where learning to translate entails learning to operate amid a set of norms of translation within an institution. In this way translator training becomes a process of continually observing and reproducing the dominant norms of translation, ensuring their 'canonization and continuity' (ibid: 83). Hence in Herman's view learning to translate itself is a process of socialisation.

In order to present the notion of norms in a more operative way, Hermans posits that social conventions, norms and rules are all tied up with values (1999b: 58). Value can be seen as an umbrella term covering the cultural and ideological factors manipulated by power relations. Norms act as adhesive to ensure that general values are transmuted into guidelines regulating concrete social action. This proposition gives resonance to Toury's claim that guidelines are not norms themselves but the evidence of them. In this perspective Hermans has taken a step further and elucidated more clearly the essence of norms.

With the notion of values in mind, Hermans proposes three normative levels on the grounds that translation always involves manipulated presentations of the original. The first level of norms pertains to general cultural and ideological norms operating in a community at the macro-level; the second level refers to translational norms arising from general concepts of translatability and linguistic representations between STs and TTs and the third level is concerning the textual and other appropriateness norms prevailing in an institution or a particular client system at the micro-level. This three-level division of translation norms appears to be close in nature with

Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model as discussed in the previous section. Specifically, both paradigms deal with the general socio-cultural factors and specific textual profile at the top and bottom level, and put in place a similar intermediate level involving discursive issues or wider linguistic representations. The commensurability between translation norms and socially-charged CDA theory seems to give some enlightening evidence to the assumption that translation is not only socially-constructed but also inherently operated upon and actualised by the culturally-laden notion of norms. Moreover, Hermans's call for an integrative study with discourse analysis of various fields as well as issues of power has reinforced the above assumption and provided more grounds for the intermingling between translation studies and CDA.

It seems that Hermans did not formulate a comparable model of translation norms as Toury did, but his conceptualisation is better socially embedded in a sense that the link between norms and social values is more articulate and practical for translation studies of political discourse. In spite of the enormous insight that Hermans's formulation of norms provides at the macro level, a structurally advanced model of translation norms is equally important for the theoretical guidance of this thesis at the micro level. Therefore it is useful to carry on with the review of translation norms.

3.2.1.3 Chesterman's Norms

Andrew Chesterman is another translation theorist who has made substantial contribution to the concept of norms. He is one of the few translation scholars who introduces the term "meme" into many aspects of translation studies. One of them is translation norms which have been extensively discussed as a meme of translation. Meme is socio-biological term used in parallel to gene in the description of the evolution of cultural phenomena. Genes are passed on from body to body under Darwinian laws of natural selection. Similarly, memes, as transmitted as replicators from one brain to another. Basically, meme is 'a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation' (Dawkins 1976: 206, cit. Chesterman 1997: 5). Building on the basic

assumptions of memes, Chesterman progressively arrives at a point where memes can be correlated with translation.

Dawkins argues that human (and plant and animal) bodies are in fact survival machines for genes: they are the means whereby the genes ensure their own continuing replication, their own immortality. Human beings are also survival machines for memes, but they are not the only ones (although they are always at least indirectly involved in meme transmission). Meme transmission within a culture takes place through imitation and of course also through language. But for a meme to be transmitted verbally across cultures, it needs a translation. Indeed, the need for translation is a neat criterion for the existence of a cultural boundary (Pym 1992: 26). This gives us a fundamental definition of a translation: translations are survival machines for memes. (Chesterman 1997: 7)

It seems to be inferred that memes need human brains as tangible carriers or ‘survival machines’ to function as a unit of cultural transmission. It is inevitable that the term meme is closely bound up with cognition. In conjunction with the socio-cognitive perspective on CDA as elaborated in the previous section, the understanding has been gained that knowledge, as an essential apparatus of context models during discourse production, operates interactively at the personal and collective levels. For knowledge to be transmitted aptly from the group to the personal domain or vice versa, there should be a unit of transmission contained in such an abstract carrier as knowledge to realise the function. Facilitated by the notion of memes, knowledge seems to become a more comprehensible and accessible cognitive concept in discourse production and comprehension. It is primarily the compatibility of memes with the basic approach of this study that draws added attention to Chesterman’s model of translation norms.

Back in the previous definition of norms, Chesterman in effect has interpreted it in a cognitive light. He argues that norms reside in social consciousness and they must be or at least potentially be accessible to individual consciousness. Further, it is added that norms only exist in the form of social recognition although individuals have individual knowledge of norms (1997: 54). From the socio-cognitive perspective, this view seems to imply that norms exist partly in the form of the social and cultural knowledge on the grounds that personal knowledge is assimilated and integrated into

it.

Chesterman's treatment of translation norms broadly covers social, ethical and technical respects, built on two structural components known as expectancy norms and professional norms. Expectancy norms are embedded in the social values of the target community. Cast in a socio-cognitive perspective, values can be understood as the multi-faceted social knowledge shared within a culture. According to Chesterman (ibid: 172), value concepts can be seen to govern norms which in turn embody and tend towards values. Expectancy norms are formed by the expectations of target audience concerning what a translation of a particular text type should be like. It is pointed out that there are two factors that govern the expectations. One is the 'prevalent translation tradition in the target culture', and the other is 'the form of parallel texts in the target language' or intertextuality if glossed in more recent terms (ibid: 64). Under this heading, the traditional dichotomy of overt and covert translations (House 1977) is brought in for discussion. It is ultimately claimed that whether a translation is expected to be overt or covert partly depends on the cultural tradition including the translation tradition in the TT community. Of particular relevance is the tendency that overt translations are closely bound in one way or another to the source culture (ibid: 65). This point of view seems to resound with the fact that political translation in China in effect stems from the source culture and is primarily governed by the norms within that culture. This is literally the prevailing normative factor amid a repertoire of relevant ones that have an impact on political translation.

Yet at this juncture Chesterman's formulation of expectancy norms is not quite as cognitively-grounded as one might have hoped. In other words, the argument has so far not gone deep enough to account for the fundamental relationship between expectancy norms and the context that breeds them. The term 'expectancy' conveys an innate sense of social cognition. Basically, it has to do with the mental representations of the target expectations postulated by translators on behalf of their

institutions based on their cross-cultural knowledge. Knowledge is the carrier of memes which are transmitted between source and target cultures gauged against the agenda determined by power relations. Apart from the stimulating notion of memes, van Dijk's socio-cognitive vision of discourse analysis as previously elaborated has been a consistent source of inspiration of the cognitive interpretation of Chesterman's model of norms. As van Dijk claims, there is always a gap between discursive practices and their socio-cultural context; therefore a cognitive interface should be forged to observe the effects the external contextual factors have over the internal discursive formations. The socio-cognitive perspective seems to offer a way that the formation and functions of expectancy norms could be better accounted for.

At a lower level than expectancy norms, there is another kind of norm that is set by a world of professional translators who are 'largely responsible for the original establishment of the expectancy norms' and whose work 'naturally become the yardsticks by which subsequent translations are assessed by the receiving society' (ibid: 67). This might explain where the term professional norms emanate from. Meanwhile, it sets out the relationship between the two kinds of norms, with professional norms being subordinate to and determined by the expectancy norms. Alternatively, expectancy and professional norms are called product and process norms respectively from a functional point of view.

It would make more sense to forge a closer link between the two. As expectancy norms stipulate what the end translation products are like and professional norms regulate the translation process, it almost goes without saying that process norms are determined by product norms as to where the end product would be led to. It is worth noting that both kinds of norms are meant to be descriptive. Although norms may exert a prescriptive pressure, they are basically socio-culturally embedded and translators competently share the multi-faceted socio-cultural knowledge, which help them internalise the norms and account for the translational behaviour (ibid.: 68). On some occasions, they may act against and negotiate the institutional norms, as

discussed earlier. In this sense, norm-setting and norm-breaking are dialectically correlated under certain institutional conditions. It can be perceived that the notion of professional norms involves some level of power relations. Accredited professionals are put in the position of norm-authorities who have the power to access more resources than the less powerful ones (translation trainees) and establish the shared mental models within an institution. Newcomers of the institution are subsequently exposed to the common knowledge stored in the collective mental models. As previously mentioned, translator training is literally a process of continually moulding the mental models of the (new) members of the institution in the direction of the prevalent ideology embodied in norms.

3.2.1.3.1 Three Subsets of Norms

In order to present the process norms in a more accessible manner, Chesterman formulates the following three subsets of norms with each subset covering a specific aspect. The accountability norm assumes that translators owe loyalty to a set of parties including the original writer, the commissioner of the translation task, the prospective readership and even the translators themselves. This norm is admittedly ethical in nature, concerning professional codes of integrity and thoroughness (ibid.). When it comes to “loyalty”, it is necessary to mention Nord (1997)’s interpretation of this notion. Loyalty differs from the traditional terms of “faithfulness” and “fidelity” in that it is designed to regulate the faithful reproduction of formal ST features into the TT. It suggests the responsibility translators have towards the participants in translational interaction. In effect, it can be understood as an interpersonal category concerning a social relationship between people (ibid: 125). At this juncture, Nord has helped to make the notion of loyalty clearer in terms of the nature of the moral responsibility that loyalty denotes.

It can be implied that the accountability norm as one dimension of process norms somewhat loosens up the prescriptive pressure of the product norms because translators need to take into account multiple factors such as the initiator, the ST

producer and the TT addressees rather than the expectations arising from the target culture. Therefore both Chesterman (1997: 68) and Nord (1997: 126) have come to the point that loyalty calls for the need for a negotiation of the translation task between translators and other parties and that the act of translation may require balancing between different priorities. This theoretical exposition of the accountability norm in one way or another provides the analytical basis for deciphering the power-mediated ideological traits in the examination of the textual products against the source and target contexts. Moreover, the relevant ethical elements induced by the accountability norm may have practical guidance for the institutional operation of political translation in China as ethical issues are deeply embedded in the Chinese culture as discussed earlier. This point will be elaborated in the later introduction to the specific practice of political translation in China.

The second subset of process norms is the communication norm. It is social in nature and assumes that translators should act in a way to optimise communication between all the parties involved, as required by the context. In passing, this norm in Chesterman's model seems to be treated at the macro-level given that it generally stipulates the translators' role as communication experts both as mediators of the intentions of other parties and as communicators in their own right (Chesterman 1997: 69). In this sense, it adds a social dimension to the translators' decision making process, but it is evident that the aim to optimise communication should be anchored in the balanced needs of different parties as governed by the accountability norm. The outcome of the decision-making process may be determined by the prevailing group knowledge or the underlying ideology within the institution.

The third subset in the category of professional norms is the relation norm. It is devised to manage the technical aspects in the process of translation. By 'relation', it means that an appropriate kind of ST-TT relation should be established to account for the text type, the intentions of the commissioner, the ST producer and the assumed needs of the prospective audience. Here Chesterman meticulously avoids the mention

of 'equivalence' as he regards it as a mechanistically narrow concept. Rather, he proposes 'relevant similarity' to describe the complex relation between STs and TTs. Text type is considered as an essential criterion to decide the degree of 'similarity' and the entire translation profile. For instance, legal contracts or political documents might require the translations to give priority to a 'close formal similarity to the original' (ibid.) which may be exemplified by sentence-to-sentence correspondence. Text type is in effect a socially-projected notion for communicative intentions. It has evolved as established textual patterns catering for different circumstances. On the one hand, text type plays a role in creating mental patterns of recognisable structural and rhetorical features in the course of communication. On the other hand, the textual representations help condition the text receivers' modes of acquiring the knowledge. In this respect, the relation norm, having text type as the governing factor in the translation process, can be subsequently construed from an in-depth socio-cognitive perspective tuning into the theme of this translational study of political discourse.

It is of great practical significance that Chesterman aptly moves from the theoretical construction of translation norms to the practical level regarding the extensive discussion of translation strategies. Translation strategies are also generally seen as operated by memes because they are not only transmitted in the form of knowledge from professionals to the trainee translators generation by generation, but also open-ended and amenable to adaptation and negotiation. According to Chesterman (ibid.: 88), translation strategies are formulated as ways to conform to norms. Although they are used in the sense that they are observable from translation products in the form of 'explicitly textual manipulation' (ibid.: 89), they are actually a kind of process of 'doing things' (ibid.: 88) so as to arrive at the best version of translation or 'relevant similarity' in line with the prevailing norms. Chesterman proposes a wide range of translation strategies covering the linguistic, pragmatic and cultural aspects in the process of translation.

As summarised by Chesterman himself, the strategies are heuristic in nature,

accessible and open-ended. With no intentions set on improving the theoretical status of the translation strategies or their grouping, the values of putting forward the translation strategies would be justified if they could ‘provide useful conceptual tools for talking about translation, for focusing on particular things that translators seem to do, and for improving translation skills’ (ibid.: 93). For reasons of space limit, although Chesterman’s notion of translation strategies is of much practical value to this study, this does not appear to be the place for a detailed excursion into his multi-faceted elaboration of translation strategies.

Overall, Chesterman’s model of translation norms seems to be a methodologically and structurally sound formulation for this thesis, in view of its implicit link with the social-cognitive dimension of norm construction and the multi-level operation to facilitate its application. However, as Brownlie (1999) critically views that Chesterman considers that norms are established based on the behaviour of competent professional translators who are considered to be standard-setting, it remains unclear whether Chesterman’s postulation is based on textual evidence or consultation of the people concerned. Moreover, the term ‘competent professional translators’ gives a sense of vagueness and uncertainty as to in what way professional translators can be rated as ‘competent’. This concern thus calls for a thorough investigation of textual data to allow evidence to emerge from actual studies in terms of how translation norms are maintained and negotiated within the institutional context in the diachronic examination of the shifts that occur in translation. This is also the tenet that the thesis is set out to achieve later.

In sum, based on the above review of the main strands of norms theory applied in translation studies, it is agreed that norm is a social concept and that the establishment and evolvment are subject to social conditioning. The initiation of the socio-biological notion ‘memes’ opens up an innovative direction to associate the socially-formed norms with the cognitively-constructed models of human communication, thus giving rise to the socio-cognitive perspective to re-interpret the

manifestations and effects of norms. The socio-cognitive insight helps to revive the traditional notion of translation norms in a way that translation as a kind of human communication can be more profoundly accounted for in the social contexts by integrating the external social circumstances with internal cognitive factors.

3.3 The Linkage between Translation Norms and CDA: a Socio-Cognitive Perspective

As suggested earlier, the socio-cognitive treatment of the notion of translation norms is enlightened by van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA which basically assumes that knowledge (personal and group) plays a crucial role in managing context models which function as an interface between discourse production and social conditions. As an accessible symbol of social cognition, knowledge has a specific status as a cognitive device for discourse production. Based on the presupposed knowledge of recipients and contextual variables, discourse producers can come up with the contents and structures of text and talk. With the interplay of power relations, there arise special control and access to discourse resources which has a great bearing on the strength of social cognition (van Dijk 1996; Koller 2005). Under this condition, social cognition is moulded towards the preferred mental models which lend cohesion to group knowledge and facilitate the prediction of social participants' behaviour. On the other hand, the preferred cognitive models play a role in maintaining the existing power relations. This is what CDA is concerned about. The exploration of CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective would account for the core relation between the power enactment and discourse production in a more profound manner.

As generally acknowledged, CDA cannot hold without a detailed investigation of the microstructures of text and talk. Hence it seems that socio-cognition as mental models operating in power-mediated social relations needs to be more thoroughly investigated with the functional linguistic devices. This is where Fairclough's socio-functional CDA model seems to be an ideal complement. Concrete textual analysis is accorded

central importance in Fairclough's framework in which he employs the functional linguistic toolkit to map the textual configurations onto the abstract domain of social representations. What makes possible this discursive operation to connect the textual and social dimensions is the assumption that functional linguistics has a subtle cognitively-motivated goal to interact with social knowledge and experience.

The combination of van Dijk's socio-cognitive and Fairclough's socio-functional CDA frameworks may give rise to a functional-cognitive model to discourse analysis which is able to situate the salient textual components into the underlying context models formed by socially shared group knowledge or attitudes. This combined approach is devised to cater to the power-mediated discourse analysis in general. In a similar vein, the socio-cognitively embedded model of translation norms is designed to account for translation as a social action and can be better understood against the contexts which accommodate the evolvement of the functional-cognitive model for discourse analysis.

In this respect, the backgrounds of the models of translation norms and CDA are homogeneous in nature based on the following reasons. Firstly, both translation and CDA are social actions and developed in the process of socialisation. Secondly, both of them rely on the manifestations of text to convey the socially-encoded messages to the respective recipients. The social factors motivated by power struggles and ideological manipulation are internalised in the processes of both translation and CDA, as manifested in text. It is therefore up to discourse analysts or translation scholars to unveil the underlying intentions in texts. Thirdly, both of them rely on cognitively-constructed context models to mediate between the textual and social dimensions. Primarily based on the presupposed knowledge of the upcoming events, contexts models provide the possibility of understanding discourse production beyond the intuitive assumption of the relationship between discourse and society.

Specifically, knowledge transfer entailed in the CDA-oriented translation studies is

regulated by norms in various respects. When expectancy norms prevail under certain socio-political conditions, knowledge transfer may be directed towards the target community, and the translation products may take on a series of target-oriented features. On the other hand, when the accountability norms are inclined towards the source culture norms, translators are motivated to stand by the source culture groups and transfer the source-oriented group knowledge into translations. The norm-regulated knowledge transfer in translational behaviour is in large part underpinned by power and ideology involved at the front of intercultural communication. The macro-level notions of power and ideology thus become transparent when framed in the theory of translation norms mediated by knowledge transfer from van Dijk's socio-cognitively-oriented CDA perspective.

3.4 Political Translation in China and Norms

The final point is regarding the integration of translation into CDA with political translation in particular. It is therefore important to have a practical understanding of political translation in China in the first instance. As mentioned in the Chapter One, political translation is a typical form of institutional translation in which the institutional itself is the author of both the source text and its translations (Koskinen 2011:57). This insight fits in well with the actual practice of political translation in China under scrutiny. Specifically, this kind of translation is derived from and developed within the source (Chinese) culture, therefore the translating practice becomes the source-culture-based act of reinterpreting and transforming the STs into the TTs. By 'source-culture-based', it means that 'priority' is given to the professional and cultural norms of the ST community and that the TTs can be regarded as textual indicators of subtle ideological manipulations devised to maintain the socio-political order of the source culture, although expectancy norms will function by taking into account the target readership on the grounds that the 'priority' criterion will not be compromised.

In this respect, political translation in the Chinese context can be integrated into the ‘orders of discourse’ specified in Fairclough’s CDA model as the totality of texts interacting with each other for communicative purposes. The orders of discourse provide the interface for individual texts relating to texts of other categories, which as a whole can be drawn upon for text production. Integrated into this dimension of CDA, translation in the Chinese political domain can be perceived as a goal-directed reworking practice on the original Chinese texts. The examination of the translated texts as the final products within the scope of orders of discourse can shed new light on the understanding of the dominant socio-political representations which will provide the basis for the production of prospective STs. The interdependence of the ST and TT production is a distinct character of the political translation in the particular context. This underpins the feasibility that the TTs can be incorporated into the discursive practice and that the act of translation is a crucial component of CDA.

As Kang (2008) points out that translation in an institutional setting is developing into an intricate process involving multiple parties, the translation of political documents in China is conducted on a collective basis with the collaboration of major governmental bodies specialising in the translation of political documents for central authorities. In terms of the actual production of translation, it is generally recognised as complex and collaborative work involving translators, revisers, editors, and sometimes even source text drafters with the institution bearing authority (Kang 2008; Koskinen 2008, 2011; Mayoral Asensio 2003). This statement also holds true in the Chinese context. Moreover, the team for political translation is usually composed of members from the core governmental bodies, such as the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, the Translation Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Xinhua which is the dominant state-run News Agency. It is noteworthy that given the multiple mediators involved in the process of political translation, it would make sense to simplify the phrasing into ‘the translators’ for analytic clarity.

Given the nature of one Party ruling in China, the bond between the Communist Party

of China (CPC) and the government is incredibly close and inseparable. It is characteristic in Chinese political institutions that the vast majority of the translators are members of the CPC. This condition facilitates the political education of the translators who are obliged to uphold the prevailing ideologies and responsible for pursuing a politically correct code of conduct in their work.

In this institutional context, translator training, in the mixed form of political education and expertise training, runs through the whole career line of individual translators. It has become a process of continually transmitting the ideologically-charged knowledge from the powerful to the less powerful, reproducing the professional norms and moulding a collective mentality in the direction of the dominant ideology. It is required that political awareness and endorsement of the ideo-political lines is a prerequisite for being a political translator. This subtle form of mind management is codified in the accountability norms within the Chinese institutional context for political translation.

Moreover, it is manifested in a unique way that translators normally feel morally bound to observe the norms. What is equally important is that loyalty is demanded as a key aspect of the accountability norms. In contrast, the notion of loyalty in the western context operates mainly at the technical level where translators are held accountable for the multiple parties in the translation process. The loyalty in the Chinese context entails an added layer with respect to the moral bond with its ST culture and community in that translators also owe loyalty to their country and people.

This phenomenon can be construed by taking into account of the cultural factors. Morality and ethics are highly valued in the traditional Chinese culture and are exerting lasting influence on many aspects of social life, with no exception of occupational conducts as such. Many schools of Chinese classical thought tend to assume that moral knowledge is acquired not through reason but by introspection and cultivation of human instinct. This view helps to internalise the moral values which

have been socially shaped as a kind of group beliefs. Meanwhile, an inward willingness is induced for individuals to perform their duties in an expected manner. With the integration of moral values into the operation of political translation, legitimacy is thus established through what Habermas terms as ‘the internalisation of symbolically represented structures of expectations’ (1975: 95). He believes that legitimacy is based on and consistent with the socially-generated normative evaluations. It thus can be inferred that legitimacy is a manifestation of power struggles in which the dominant values are successfully indoctrinated into an institutionalised social practice.

As Kang (2008) holds, the translators in the institutional setting are no longer individuals who translate a text solely on the basis of personal training and experience. In this sense, they have become social participants whose behaviour is institutionalised in the culturally and ideologically situated institutional practice.

Apart from the discussion of the norms dealing with the ethical dimension, it is time to move on to the practical and technical domain of political translation. The translational practice of Chinese political documents falls into two categories. One is the intra-cultural translation concerning rendering the original Mandarin texts into the various languages of ethnic minorities. The other is the cross-cultural translation involving translating the Chinese texts into foreign languages where necessary. An investigation into which languages are frequently translated and the underlying factors would certainly go beyond the scope of this study. Yet one thing for certain is that English is the most common target language, which gives prominence to the practice of translating Chinese political texts from Chinese into English. This also partly explains why this strand of political translation has been selected for extensive study.

It is generally believed that the English translations are produced under a set of highly stringent and regulated procedures normally including four stages – preliminary translation, first proofreading, second proofreading, and finalising. During the process,

the TTs are carefully cross-examined and repeatedly scrutinised. In the second or third stage, some foreign experts may be invited to revise the translation drafts to ensure that the TTs are well received by the target audience. When questions are raised about the meanings in the original Chinese texts, they should turn to the Chinese translators for consultation (Cheng 2001: 195). In case of any unresolved issues, the original speech writing team will need to be called upon for elaboration and clarification. The revised versions will have to be approved in the last finalising stage by the chief Chinese translator and relevant officials who play a key role and are ultimately responsible for what the final English versions are like. When the speeches are delivered, both the original and translated versions are to be issued to the public.

The publication of important political documents and their translations is exclusively conducted by the agencies and press that are state-run or closely aligned with the government, such as the official websites, Xinhua News Agency, Beijing Review. Due to the thorough deliberation and calibration involved in the TT production, the final English versions are normally subject to little revision when they finally meet the public. On some rare occasions when it is necessary to make some revision, the changes have to be tacitly approved by the higher authorities held politically accountable for the content.

It can be seen that the process of translation is notably institutionalised and ideologically motivated. The parties involved and their access of resources are all determined by the power relations. The foreign revisers act as consultants and have little substantial grip on the decision making. They are meant to make the TTs idiomatic and well-received without compromising the politically correct messages conveyed to the target language community. The translators, presumably as norm followers, are supposed to transform the ideologically-moulded mental models into textual representations. They exert a certain degree of influence on the decision-making, but the deliberate act of intervention by politicians indicates their persistent grip on translation as a discursive vehicle to sustain the existing power

relations.

In line with the previous discussion, both Toury (1999) and Chesterman (1997) have identified a bottom-up trend of norm negotiation. This phenomenon may well be echoed in the Chinese context where translators are able to voice their concerns among the various parties involved in the translation process. They can be either outstanding textual references to the relationship between the STs and TTs or contingent elements that could touch upon the reconstruction of the existing norms. It would be of immense interest to look into this reverse direction of norm reconstruction, accentuating the autonomy translators are gaining in the Chinese institutional context.

Moreover, the (re)construction of translation norms through translators' conscious negotiation points toward the vision that norms can be not only internalised into translators' mental constructs but also externalised as a socially-adaptive entity open to change. This view hence spells out the socio-cognitive nature inherent in norms. However, given the intricate network operation of Chinese political institutions, it is only possible to keep track of the availability of translation norm through texts where it actually operates. At this point it gives resonance to Fairclough's proposition that texts are the most visible indicators of social changes and that social changes must leave trace in texts. The diachronic approach to the translated political discourse will provide a fertile ground to explore the textual changes as informed by the socio-political development in which translational behaviour may be at more liberty to contribute to the negotiation and reconstruction of norms.

In sum, it can be further perceived that ideology and power play are involved not only in the process of translation manifested as an institutional practice but also within the translation products at various textual levels. A detailed and comprehensive textual examination of the translated political discourse will be presented in the Chapter Four with a view to understanding political translation in China as both an institutional

operation and a reciprocal practice of discursive reformation of political representations.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter develops a functional-cognitive theoretical framework drawing on Fairclough and van Dijk's CDA models. The functional linguistic parameters serve as a micro-level device for the close examination of texts. They are used in a way parallel to Fairclough's functional forms of textual analysis which attests his central claim that close analysis of texts is a significant part of social scientific analysis of any nature.

At the macro-level, van Dijk's direction of CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective aptly accounts for the core relation between the power enactment and discourse production in a more profound manner. It basically assumes that knowledge (personal and group) plays a crucial role in managing context models which function as an interface between discourse production and social conditions. The knowledge-mediated notion of context models, defined as the participants' mental models of communicative situations, are thus brought to the fore on the ground that it is not only important to understand discourse production under diverse social conditions, but also crucial for translation studies in terms of linking translation products to translators' decision-making process involved in the course of translation.

Knowledge, acting as the organism of the organised mental structure formed by shared factual beliefs of a group or culture, can be viewed as the effective medium to concretise the vague notion of context from a cognitive perspective and control many aspects of discourse processing for textual analysis. As an accessible unit of social cognition, knowledge has a unique status as a cognitive device for discourse production. As implied in this chapter, as long as power and ideology are involved, discourse production, be it monolingual or multilingual, has to do with the knowledge

transfer from the powerful groups to the less powerful ones.

Recast in a socio-cognitive light, the notion of translation norms exhibits immense compatibility with the above proposed CDA model mainly because both of them rest on the cognitively-constructed context models to mediate between the textual and social dimensions. The knowledge transfer entailed in the CDA-oriented translation studies is regulated by norms in various respects. As norms are basically socio-culturally embedded and translators share the multi-faceted socio-cultural knowledge, the operation of knowledge transfer in the process of translation would help them internalise the norms and account for the translational behaviour.

Meanwhile, both theoretical notions rely on the micro-level functional linguistic parameters to map the textual configurations onto the abstract domain of social representations. With the linkage between translation norms theory and CDA elaborated at the end of the chapter, a functional-cognitive integrative approach is accordingly formulated for the study of political translation in China. In what follows, the translational behaviour of political discourse and its unique features are investigated from the macro level, leading to the detailed textual examination in the chapter of data analysis.

Chapter Four

Studies on Political Discourse

This chapter intends to provide an academic overview and a cultural understanding to the study of Chinese political discourse. It starts with a general account of the research context with respect to the study of political discourse, keeping in view the major developments in this field. This section is aimed to provide a fuller picture of political discourse study and keep pace with the recent developments of this field. In the following section, it provides a unique perspective into the Chinese political discourse by explicating the metadiscourses and their essential roles in constructing and organising the Chinese political representations. Special emphasis is placed on the socio-cognitive dimension and the cultural embeddedness in which political metadiscourses are anchored in facilitating the formation of Chinese political representations. The aim is to offer a broadened and balanced view over the CPC's measures of maintaining political legitimacy. This socio-cognitive approach to Chinese political discourse would not only cast a substantial level of interconnectedness with the previous discussions, but also provide valuable analytical grounding for later translation analysis of Chinese political discourse.

4.1 Research Contexts for the Study of Political Discourse

4.1.1 The Pragmatics-oriented Linguistic Approach

Wilson (1990) argues that political language, like any other kinds of language, relies on techniques of linguistic analysis to explore the relation between what is explicit and what is implied. He is more interested in applying pragmatic concepts in the description of political talk than promoting a view of politics. Wilson's analysis of political language covers a wide range of concepts and techniques of linguistic pragmatics. The work gives particular insights to the use of implicature and presupposition in parliamentary debate, of pronouns in presenting political positions

and reflecting social values, and of metaphor in establishing political arguments. Finally he provides insights into the patterns of political interviews and press conferences.

Following the pragmatics-oriented linguistic approach, Obeng (1997) focuses on the specific aspect of indirectness that finds expression in political communication motivated by political interests or personal face-saving. With theoretical reference to Grice's (1975) cooperative principle and conversational maxims, it is demonstrated that these maxims tend to be flouted in political interactions. It is thus suggested that as a form of politeness the notion of verbal indirection⁴ be integrated into the study of political discourse which must also be complemented by addressing the relevant socio-cultural conventions.

In a similar vein, Chilton (1990) explores the relationship between politics and politeness from a pragmatic perspective mainly by applying the Brown-Levinson analysis of politeness theory into the political domain. As Chilton has it, the notion of face is inherently possessed with political elements. For instance, positive face can be linked to consensus and identity, while negative face to national security (ibid: 201). The strategies of employing positive and negative face are largely motivated by different political purposes such as consensus building or coercive acts. It is also important to see Chilton extend the Brown-Levinson model beyond interpersonal exchange to multiple audiences catered for political communication. Furthermore, Chilton's work goes well beyond the pragmatic contemplation of political discourse in a way that it projects an initial attempt to converge with the CDA and critical social theory. As he states, 'critical theory can elucidate and extend politeness theory, and at the same time derive benefit for its descriptive analyses from the insights that politeness theory can offer concerning the pragmatic making of inferencing that is involved in face-to-face communication' (ibid: 204). In this view, politeness theory is

⁴ Verbal indirection is a strategy used in communication to abstain from being direct so as to have the opportunity to communicate sensitive and controversial issues and also to talk about verbal taboos. (Obeng 1994)

involved in the exercise and maintenance of power relations as manifested through political discourse.

4.1.2 The CDA-led Interdisciplinary Approach

Schäffner (1997c) first clarifies some conceptual points regarding political speeches and political discourse analysis. She agrees about the role societal and political framework plays in embedding political discourse and advocates an interdisciplinary perspective into political discourse analysis, which echoes Van Dijk's call for a "genuine social, political or cultural analysis" (ibid: 1). Despite the relative vagueness in terms of defining the political genres, Schäffner identifies three kinds of political communication in terms of language use, which are internal political communication, external political communication and inter-state political communication. It is suggested that discourse analysis look into various aspects of language, including pragmatics, semantics, syntax and phonology/phonetics.

Two papers are selected based on the critical discourse analysis of the same speech. Ensink (1997) focuses on the aspect of footing, i.e. the particular speaking and hearing roles which the participants are assigned by means of the analysis of personal pronouns. The findings show that both the speaker and the hearers are representative of nations, peoples and are responsible for their histories. Christoph Sauer argues for more attention to rhetoric within the framework of political discourse analysis by comparing the definition of rhetoric in classical antiquity to the conditions of modern political communication. He characterises political speeches as a hybrid genre of the epideictic (rhetorical) address, a genre that combines the goal of achieving persuasion with the offer of verbal means to establish consensus in line with the norms and values in society (ibid: 4).

In a critique written by Norman Fairclough, he argues for a double orientation in discourse analysis, namely, the specificity of a particular discursive event and the

generality, which is the relationship between the particular discursive event and the orders of discourse (structured set of discursive practices). He suggests that the two orientations can not be strictly separated in that the specificity of a discursive event exerts influence on how it reworks the social resources within the existing orders of discourse and that the latter informs the configuration of the stylistic, pragmatic and rhetorical factors constitutive of the specificity of a discursive event (ibid: 86).

Fairclough expresses his consistent perspective on CDA which is concerned with unmasking the often opaque connections between language and other aspects of society and culture. He also extends his interest into how the changing discursive practices relate to wider processes of contemporary social and cultural change (ibid: 86).

Chilton and Schäffner (2002) bring together a wide variety of political text and talk under examination. The basic postulation is that politics is inseparably concerned with language and that discourse study could bring a new dimension to the comprehension of politics. Politics, understood both as a struggle for power and as co-operation to resolve clashes, is operated at the micro level between individuals and at the macro level between institutions. Political discourse operating amid individuals and institutions is explored in the pragmatic dimension to highlight participants' interaction. Another distinctive feature of this work rests on the attempt to look into representations in the mind, signifying the transition of discourse analysis from linguistic manifestations to the cognitive construction of meanings. Much of the previous cognitive insight expounded in van Dijk's CDA framework is included in the chapter entitled political discourse and political cognition, in which the forward-looking understanding of context from the cognitive perspective is elaborated. With this in mind, the traditional thesis of political indirectness and implicitness in linguistic exchanges can be enlightened by taking into account the participants' mental constructs and the role of knowledge and values of various kinds in textual processing.

The analytic paradigm of CDA is still extensively employed in the analysis of ideology-mediated discourse, such as political and news discourse (Teo 2000; Bhatia 2006; Pu 2007; Horváth 2009; Wang 2010). Teo (2000) identifies instances of racist discourse within the structure of newspaper reporting through a comparative analysis of two reports on a series of attention-drawing crimes committed by a Vietnamese gang in Australia. It seeks to expose the asymmetrical power relations disguised within news discourse between the ethnic law-breakers and the white law enforcers, offering insight into the discursive strategies of power reproduction through the particular case study.

Grounded in Fairclough's CDA paradigm, Horváth (2009) probes into a different political genre, the inaugural address of President Obama. The focus is on the investigation into persuasive strategies motivated by the ideological concerns inherent in the inaugural speech. Fairclough's notion of ideology has lent crucial insight into this study. The ideological configuration in Obama's address is extensively explored based on the Fairclough's assumption that ideology exists as property of both discourse structures and communicative events and invests language in various ways at various levels.

Wang (2010) presents another attempt to combine CDA and Functional Linguistics in the analysis of Obama's public speeches. Under the key categories of transitivity and modality analysis, quantitative evidence has been provided to support the findings regarding the rhetorical features of the speeches underpinned by ideological reasons and power relations involved.

Pu (2007) offers a pragmatic interpretation of the former president George W. Bush's speech at Tsinghua University, focusing on the adept use of rhetorical strategies in the political speech. It is claimed that the rhetorical strategies are closely related with the overall political goals exemplified in this case as tacitly propagating American values

as a model for China's development. This ideological implication is thus enacted within the text and explored by the rhetorical analysis of the major themes, although the methodological matrix deriving from Political Discourse Analysis remains slightly unfocused.

Bhatia (2006) has articulated that CDA is a useful tool in the analysis of political discourse because it allows for the 'realization of the interdependency of language and ideology' (ibid: 2000). His detailed study of political press conferences adds to the multidimensionality of political discourse. This article focuses on how ideologies are negotiated and political differences are communicated at such a seemingly "peaceful" high-profile diplomatic event as political conference between the former Chinese and American presidents. For this purpose, three major themes are identified through revealing textual analysis: positivity for the reinforcement of mutual trust and respect; influence and power for subtle persuasion; avoidance of responses to inconvenient questions from the media. Under the analytic paradigm of CDA, the perennial issue of political politeness can be re-investigated within a highly institutionalised context and re-invigorated with a socio-historical dimension.

Apart from the above discussed global perspective, it is of importance to highlight some local points which would shed light on the study of political discourse. It is indicated that the discourse of multi-national political press conferences involves the heterogeneity of political discourse, media discourse and diplomatic discourse. This unique characteristic leads to the complexity with respect to the perception of contexts and the design of audiences. The emphasis is placed on the latter factor, where Bhatia has formulated a multi-layered configuration of audiences based on the presupposed knowledge of the context. For instance, it is spelled out that the participants in a political press conference consist of both the people present at the setting and those the message would reach in the end (ibid: 176). In this case, the audiences for this form of press conference may include journalist, relevant media authorities, and the entire international community of politicians as well as the general public concerned.

This perception of audiences partly facilitates the formation of contextual knowledge in view of discourse construction and comprehension for a complex discursive event. Despite the novel insight this study has provided regarding the well-rounded scrutiny of the political subgenre at the textual dimension, the intended theoretical framework remains relatively under-discussed given the proclaimed integration of Wodak's and Fairclough's CDA models. This may fall into the lingering critique that CDA is subjectively employed and less able to render more informed and objective analysis.

Dunmire (2005) provides a fresh perspective of looking at ideology and power relations in political text and talk by positing that representations of the future and the rhetorical functions involved reflect the ideological component of political discourse. Taking a systemic-functional approach, this paper aims to explore the following aspects. One is how representations of the future are structured and projected through political discourse. The other is how the public is implicated in those representations. The study is based on the analysis of President Bush's speech on 7 October 2002, which presents his rationale for war against Iraq to the public. The analysis reveals two main textual means by which the future is manipulated and claimed by dominant social groups, i.e. nominalization and modality. The extensive use of nominalization functions in a way that speculative assertions about the future are transformed into presupposed and unchallengeable future reality. Moreover, systemic contrasts in modality serve to privilege this future reality over alternative visions so as to implicate the public in the vision of the powerful. It is noteworthy that the broader discursive context is considered to highlight the role the President's speech plays in representing the focus of national strategic policy through the preemption strategy. While being theoretically eclectic, it exhibits an illuminating variety of textual parameters for the extensive exploration of ideologically-mediated discourses.

Renwick & Cao (1999) pursues Chinese political discourse from the perspective of 'victimhood' based on the assumption that China has long been portrayed in the narrative of victimhood inflicted upon by hostile external forces since the late

nineteenth century. It is argued that legitimisation is of central importance to the formulation of Chinese political discourse through which China's ruling elite is able to critically inform its formulation and execution of political action. This study explores the theme of victimhood in China's contemporary political discourse. The reason lying behind this investigation is the assumption that modern China's political discourse has focused on this idea of China as the victim of hostile external and internal predators ever since the late nineteenth century. Renwick & Cao (1999) have developed an elaborate theoretical framework involving the descriptive, interpretative and explanatory dimensions of discourse analysis, implicitly echoing the three dimensions in Fairclough's CDA model with text, discursive practice and society as its analytical parameters. The in-depth analysis of Chinese political discourse is cast in a historical and cognitive perspective, with a view to explicating the evolvement of Chinese political narrative and its impact on the schematic structure of the public. Based on the analysis of three discrete texts, historical and social representations are thus textually enacted around the theme of victimhood. Overall, this study provides valuable insight into the multi-dimensional exploration of Chinese political discourse, while the textual analysis seems slightly bound up with the clear-cut three-dimensional methodological framework.

4.1.3 The Cognitive Turn

The research on political discourse has been experiencing a 'cognitive turn' in recent years, where there is an increasing awareness of the role minds play in interacting with the world. Chilton (2004) aims at developing a theoretical framework to explore the relationship between language capacity and political ability. In his view, the current linguistic approaches to political discourse concentrate on language in the service of power, which is not enough for building a theory of language and politics. It is of more importance to study how manifestations of power, language, conflict and cooperation come into being than regard these components of political discourse as the natural phenomena out there in society. In this sense, a broadly cognitive

perspective has been adopted to look at how the interaction of human individuals are motivated and executed by the political cognition of human individuals living in social groups. The mental models developed by language users function in a way that the political and the linguistic could communicate in a cognitive context. Chilton states that the presumption of where the centre lies is fundamental to political discourse processing. Therefore a spatial frame is constructed to reflect the cognitive schemas of centre-periphery in the political representations of identity and exclusion. In sum, Chilton's comprehensive employment of CDA and cognitive linguistics together with relevant work in social theory offers a stimulating theoretical model for understanding political language in both the domestic and global arena.

Considerable interests have been shown in the analyse of metaphors in discourse on political topics (Chilton & Ilyin 1993; Anderson Jr 2001; Zinken 2003; Guillem 2009). Zinken (2003) looks into the role that metaphors play in the ideological construction of political events. The emphasis is on the integration of socio-cultural experience into the experientialist framework of cognitive metaphor research.

Zinken (2003) takes issue with the basis assumption of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) phenomenal Cognitive Theory of Metaphor which gives enormous prominence to body experience on metaphorical conceptualisation. It is argued that a significant number of metaphors pertaining to ideologically-mediated topics are in effect motivated by semiotic experience rather than body experience. As a salient move towards the integration of socio-cultural experience into the experientialist framework in cognitive metaphor research, Zinken (2003) provides evidence for the important role that intertextual and correlational metaphors play in political discourse. The term 'intertextual metaphor' is created to refer to the type of metaphors culturally situated in the collective mentality, while 'correlational metaphor' tends to align more with conceptual metaphors. Zinken (2003) attempts at a coherent ideological interpretation with the 'intertextual metaphors' linking the author to a specific semiotic environment, a community of stereotypes, and the 'correlational metaphors' objectifying an

interpretation in 'ordinary' language (ibid.: 519-20). The analysis centers on the metaphorical interpretation of communism and change of Polish newspaper discourse on the tenth anniversary of the end of communism in 1999. Quantitative findings show that intertextual metaphors appear predominantly in salient places such as in headlines, under pictures, while correlational metaphors are spread across the main part of newspaper articles. In terms of the functions that the two metaphors play, intertextual metaphor are more apt to account for social aspects of a phenomenon by linking individual minds to a specific semiotic environment, whereas correlational metaphors tend to objectify an interpretation in ordinary language.

Chilton & Ilyin (1993) projects a cognitive-interactive perspective on the single metaphor of the 'common European house' in a hugely intensive manner. Treated in a trans-national angle, sample texts from several European political speeches are explored in order to demonstrate that the meanings of metaphors are not fixed but vary with local languages, cultures and political interests. It is illuminating to note that the trans-linguistic analysis of political metaphors is embedded in a cognitive-interactive framework where the general cognitive dimension is modelled by specific interactional discourse purposes of speakers. The process of metaphor specification implies a discourse process that is both cognitive and interactive. The dynamic vision towards metaphor in the political domain offers significant methodological insight into the socio-cultural dimensions in international political communication.

Anderson Jr (2001) contributes to the current research in that it takes a diachronic approach in analysing the changes of political discourse in the matrix of drastic socio-political transformations as the Soviet communist regime gave way to the Russian electoral polity in 1993. In comparison, China has a considerable amount of parallels in terms of socio-political transformations resulting from its economic reform, although it is of purely different political nature. This may be of practical value to the study of political discourse from a historical point of view. Three corpora

have been built according to the three consecutive periods in Russian history, i.e. authoritarian, transitional and electoral corpus. Frequencies of metaphors in the chosen categories are calculated to facilitate qualitative analysis. For instance, findings emerging from the table comparing frequencies of metaphors of 'size' in the three corpora show that the most common size metaphors become far less frequent as Russia becomes democratic, indicating the attempt of electoral politicians to downplay the dogmatic sense of the previous communist discourse in order to reach out to ordinary Russians. Ultimately, the initial hypothesis holds through the findings that changes in Russian political discourse have been effected in an attempt to promote the emergence of democracy.

Guillem (2009) contributes to the ongoing 'cognitive turn' by proposing a socio-cognitive, discursive approach to argumentation in parliamentary debates. There are two aspects that Guillem (2009) could fill the gap in the realm of political communication. One is that it goes beyond the structural analysis of text and talk and emphasises the interplay amongst discourse, cognition and society in understanding the concepts of argumentation and metadiscourse. The other is that it averts the overemphasis in the existing studies on metadiscourse in the analysis of written texts and calls for more comprehensive analysis of metadiscourse in oral settings.

Despite being one of the 'difficult-to-grasp' concepts relevant to discourse study, Guillem (2009) has made clear that metadiscourse in his study 'refers in general to the unique reflexive capacity of language, as used by human beings, to have itself as its subject matter' (ibid: 733). It can be understood that the notion of metadiscourse is used to link the surface meanings of text and talk to the context and relevant socio-cultural knowledge lying behind it. The focus is on how the functions performed by the components of metadiscourse could invoke knowledge about both the ongoing interaction and the process of discourse production, thus becoming crucial elements of argumentation.

A qualitative and discursively based analysis was conducted based on the transcript of explanations for votes at the European Parliament on 25 October 2006 over the issue of the peace process in Spain. With the notion of metadiscourse running through the whole analysis, four relevant strategies are identified in relation to the interaction with different levels of metadiscourse when speakers construct arguments: (re)framings in debating European Parliament's role, (re)definitions in positioning oneself and others, quotations in incorporating others' words and silences and references to previous events to assess the importance of past experiences. It is concluded that meta-discursive components play a crucial part in cognitively constructed argumentative communication. Guillem (2009) would undoubtedly shed new light on discourse analysis in terms of re-invigorating the notion of metadiscourse in relation to the cognitive interpretation of discourse.

4.1.4 The Cultural and Rhetorical Approach

A number of studies on Chinese political discourse or other types of communist discourse (Lu 1999; 2002; Ji 2004; 2011; Brady 2008; 2009; Qin 2010) make a substantial contribution to the field of discourse analysis as a whole and would appeal to the current translation studies of Chinese political discourse. The majority of the work is anchored in a cultural or rhetorical approach to various modes and means of political persuasion as motivated by a different form of polity.

Focusing on the uncertainties and controversies of China's peaceful rise in the academic circle, Qin (2010) identifies the possibilities of China's peaceful rise from a cultural perspective, based on the Chinese thought patterns, Chinese dialectics and Chinese conceptualisation of human society. The thrust of Qin's argument lies in his well-grounded contestation against the prevalent pessimism towards China's peaceful rise derived from the mainstream English School which takes Western international society as 'a well-demarcated ego-category and a central anchorage' (ibid: 132) in envisaging international relations. Under this English School approach, Qin further

explores the tendency of the taxonomical thinking and conflictual dialectics characteristic of the Western way of thinking. Taxonomical thinking is closely related to the Western tradition of dialectics, epitomised as Hegelian conflictual dialectic which views the world as objectively an entity including categories independent of one another and non-transformable by nature.

In contrast, the Chinese thought process is relationally oriented and emphasises on relations in process and within context, seeing society as ‘a complexity of relational networks’ (ibid: 138). Meanwhile, complementary dialectics is at the heart of the Chinese thought pattern, which views conflictual elements as actors in relations and transformable in nature. Different elements within a system interact and complement with one another until they come together and attain the ultimate state of *he*, or harmony. This mind-set would lead to the intended understanding of the Chinese pursuit of ‘universal peace’ in view of the central debate of China’s peaceful rise. Furthermore, the relational thinking and complementary dialectics see change as the transformative process developed in a way to sustain relations. This relation-oriented transformation is termed *tongbian*, or continuity through change, accounting for the inclusiveness in the Chinese thought process. These insights into Chinese philosophy and culture provides a fertile source for an in-depth understanding of the Chinese political trajectory and gives firmer grounding to the purpose of this study which intends to explore the changes of Chinese political discourse and its translations.

Embedded in cultural and ideological criticism of political text and talk, Lu (1999) examines the use of political slogans enshrined in China’s official publications since the 1960s as a crucial form of political communication in China, demonstrating the impact of political slogans on transforming the ideological and cultural configurations of the Chinese society from Confucianism to Maoism, and to Deng’s economic pragmatism. Lu (1999) also shows an initial attempt to explore the political slogans from a cognitive perspective by linking the rhetorical strategies to the moulding of an endorsed thought pattern. It is indicated that the multi-functionality of political

slogans makes them an effective and powerful means of political communication. This study is an illuminating contribution to demystifying Chinese political rhetoric entrenched in the realms of Chinese politics, culture and history.

In another piece of Lu's work on Chinese political rhetorical construction (2002), more emphasis is placed on the impact of traditional cultures and political thoughts on contemporary Chinese political discourse. It is pointed out that contemporary communication practices in the Asian context need to be better linked to Asian cultural roots in order to achieve an in-depth intercultural understandings between Asian and the West. Lu (2002) argues that the spirit of Chinese politics is deeply rooted the traditional Chinese culture and exemplifies that the rhetorical devices employed in the political discourse resemble closely to the classic rhetorical appeals which have been appropriated into the contemporary discourse for different political goals. The cultural insight into Chinese political discourse injects a fresh note into the cognitive construction of the ideologically-motivated collective mentality.

Ji (2004) projects further attempts to explore the relationship between language and mind. She defines the eye-catching term of the book 'linguistic engineering' in a relatively loose sense. It can be applied to 'any attempt to change language in order to affect attitudes and beliefs' (ibid: 3). The whole study aims to trace the origins of linguistic engineering in China and examine its development during the early years of the CPC's governance. The focus is on a detailed exploration of the unprecedented manipulation of language during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. Ji pursues the study of the early Chinese political discourse from a distinctive cognitive perspective. Based on the assumption that language affects cognition through diverse mechanisms, she frames the analysis in a range of cognitive parameters drawn from schema theory and the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion, both of which deal with the ways information is stored and processed in mind. It is argued that the political language exemplified in Mao's era not only framed the way that people were meant to think about issues, but it was aimed at influencing their behaviour. It created attitudes

on which people were inclined to act. Ji's work moves on from the lingering point of ideological treatment of language use and looks into how linguistic messages are schematically enacted into people's thinking patterns which form the foundation for social behaviour especially in the propagandist discursive context likewise.

It is of significant interest to see Ji extend the theme of 'linguistic engineering' into the current era of Chinese politics. In her latest article, Ji (2011) indicates that linguistic engineering takes a different form whilst maintaining its enduring power in affecting people's attitudes and behaviour. Compared with the radical and omnipotent nature of the political language in Mao's era, linguistic manipulation in Hu's era has assumed a sophisticated and implicit manner. Under the tremendous influence of material prosperity and growing global integration in recent years, the present masses tend to be guided by 'broader and less political themes' (Brady 2011: 5) with the emphasis on consumerism and pleasure-seeking lifestyle. On the other hand, the linguistic engineering comes alive in a way that the traditional cultural values which were openly denounced in the early years of communist governance are reinvested and adjusted to serve the modern political and ideological purposes in Hu's era in terms of building up national confidence and social cohesion.

Anne-Marie Brady is another scholar who has exhibited a consistent interest in Chinese political representation. In her recent work, Brady (2008) conducted a detailed qualitative research by carefully examining internal CPC documents and interviewing informants inside the propaganda system. She clearly contends against the prevailing scholarly view that sees the current state control of public opinions being weakened by the growing trend of commercialization and media proliferation. She then puts forward that the propaganda and thought work increases rather than decrease in China in the post-1989 period through subtle but pervasive control of mass media and upgraded methods of political persuasion. The argument earns much credit by analysis of rich primary sources, however, more empirical study needs to be conducted in support of the strongly-formulated argument put forward by the author

given the widespread evidence in favour of the counteractive view that the monopoly of the CPC has inevitably been weakened due to the development of multifarious media technologies to encourage free views.

It is interesting to note that Brady (2011) presents her renewed insights into China's contemporary propaganda and thought work in a tempered tone. She mainly focuses on the cultural aspect by explicating the ideological resort to Chinese traditional values for sustained political legitimacy. As pointed out, China is following a distinctively different pattern of development from that of Mao's era featuring radical Marxist indoctrination, and seeks inspiration from Confucianism to anchor 'Chineseness' in the political realm and other aspects of social life as a way to legitimise the economically liberal pattern of development whilst still upholding socialism. A set of selected Confucian concepts are presented to project the CPC government's mapping of new interpretations onto the traditional values, attempting to examine the changing nature of political power in China.

Qiu (2000) hints that China's socio-political changes brought about by the economic reform since 1978 are underpinned by a rhetorical reform. His focus is on the political rhetoric of Deng's era and embraces the view articulated by Pye (1993) that excessive emphasis on Deng's personal role in the formulation of the post-Mao political rhetoric confines a comprehensive understanding of this subject. He also cautions against the trend to oversimplify Dengism as pragmatism. Instead, he tends to embed the Dengist rhetorical in the institutional framework and presents the utilitarian orientation in Dengism as strategic pragmatism. The instrumental nature of Deng's pragmatic articulations is pinpointed under various institutional constraints based on its role in serving new ideological lines in the new era.

Young (1991)'s work is a crucial contribution to the understudied subject of language of totalitarianism. It takes Orwell's well-known novel *1984* and the concept of Newspeak as both the starting point for his argument and the academic background.

The reasons for this analytic entry are explained by Young. *1984* displays Orwell's 'shrewd understanding of the connection between language and politics' as well as 'a sustained effort to illustrate the nature of that connection' (Young 1991: 12). The other reason is that Orwell's treatment of language reflects a creative tension about the relation of language to thought and reality. It intends to show that the notion of Newspeak, as presented in *1984*, has a lasting impact on the linguistic formulations of the Nazi and Communist systems, which have shaped the outlook of totalitarian societies of the 20th century to a great extent. As argued, the language of totalitarianism has had only limited success in thought control in that the inability of explicit control of reality gives rise to alternative views of reality amongst its masses, which accounts for the downfall of the majority of its regimes in the last century.

Kluver's (1996) book offers another important perspective to the rhetorical construction of the Chinese political myth. His book intends to answer the question of how a nation supposedly pursuing the orthodox Marxism legitimises itself in the embrace of economic capitalism. The role of discourse is examined in the Chinese political culture with a view to revealing its legitimating functions in the face of the paradoxical nature of China's political lines. It is argued that the legitimacy of the economic reforms depends on the ability of the CPC to 'create a compelling narrative' (ibid: 6) that mandates its economic transformations and new ideological formulations underpinning the success of its ruling in the post-Mao era. Also of interest is that Kluver strives to explore the link between modern and classical political culture. It is thus suggested that the rhetorical control of political discourse is inherited from the Emperors who legitimised their ruling by claiming that the mandate of Heaven was dependent on a competent ruler. In its contemporary version, the CPC tacitly alludes to a similar supernatural agency 'history' repeatedly worded in the political rhetoric such as 'History has entrusted our Party with heavy responsibilities in the great undertaking of China's socialist modernisation' (ibid: 67). Kluver regards it as a national myth that the Chinese leadership resorts to this unique means to establish the legitimacy of its ruling.

Kluver (1996) is committed to unravelling the rhetorical myth in the political realm through revealing discourse analysis. In a broader perspective, it is of significant relevance to note that the author addresses the language sources of the data and raises moderate awareness of the discrepancies between the primary and translated texts for scholars engaging in discourse analysis. With this awareness in mind, it seems valuable to carry out the translation studies-oriented research on political rhetorical to give prominence to the shifts and changes in translations which might be underlined by political and ideological motivations. This proposition will undoubtedly make the present study worthwhile.

4.2 Metadiscourse and Political Legitimation: a Cultural-cognitive Perspective into Chinese Political Discourse

The notion of ‘metadiscourse’ has drawn intensive attention to the growing field of discourse analysis. The inherent fuzziness of this term is admittedly recognised by discourse analysts, as is pointed out by Swales that ‘although the concept of metadiscourse is easy enough to accept in principle, it is much more difficult to establish its boundaries’ (Swales 1990: 188). In this light, metadiscourse has been applied into a disparate range of data and examined in the dimensions of rhetoric, genre and cultural studies in relation to the language-based domain of discourse. So far, most studies have focused on the non-propositional aspect of studies of metadiscourse with the emphasis on the ways in which writers use language to organise texts and guide readers through the texts.

It is enlightening to see that Zhang (2010) applies the notion of metadiscourse into the propositional domain by exploring the role of metadiscourses in the discursive construction of Chinese political discourse. In conjunction with the notion of entextualisation as elaborated in the theoretical framework of Natural History of Discourse, it is presented that dominant metadiscourses are intended to ‘mark the

discursive evolution and a relative discursive hegemony' (ibid: 514) at various points of China's socio-political trajectory. The interplay of the metadiscourses has a formative effect on the political (re)configurations generation after generation, functioning as an entextualised discourse that shapes the social stratification order in contemporary China. Furthermore, 'the earlier leaders' entextualised discourses are recontextualised by the later leaders in a way that their own metadiscourses are formed for ideological guidance. In this sense, metadiscourse becomes a vehicle to bring into prominence the ideological orientations in a certain socio-political period. It is thus ultimately argued that metadiscourse can be viewed as the linkage of the social and the discursive practices.

Political transformations brought about by leadership transition can be essentially problematic for any polity, involving tensions between the old and the new. Given China's one-party political system, leadership succession tends to be more or less in line with the basic political lines, but each party leader will need to instill innovative elements into the guiding principles in order to elicit support from other elite politicians and the masses as well as to establish personal credentials in each one's era of leadership. This political phenomenon can be theorised into a basic concept in political science, 'legitimation'. It can be defined as '(a) dynamic process among the government, the elite groups, and the politically significant public: those in power seek to legitimate their control and exercise their power; ...' (Alagappa 1995: 13-14; Zheng 2010: 132). Legitimation matters to every political regime as long as the ruling needs to sustain its position and exercise the power over the ruled.

It is noteworthy that political legitimation in fact has thousands of years of history behind it. Good Chinese emperors are universally good at letters (Zheng 2010: 83). This political practice is deeply rooted in Confucian philosophy of governance as epitomised in 正名 (zheng ming/rectification of names) (Lu 2002: 100). 正名 (zheng ming) is an important concept in Confucian thoughts. In his view, the first and foremost thing for administrating a country is to rectify names.

Confucius believes that whatever a ruler says must be in accordance with the rites and must be implemented. Here rites at that time function as ‘a mechanism of social control of the masses’ (Lu 2002: 99) in an attempt to maintain the social order. The ruler is seen as the legitimatised ultimate executor of power if under right ‘names’. Undoubtedly language is the carrier of ideologies and beliefs in the service of the dominant political group. Social and political realities construct and are constructed by language, which resounds with Fairclough’s (1992) proposition that discourse is not only constituted by but also constitutive of social change. Social transformations that have taken place in China in the past thirty years inform the changes in political discourse. Conversely, discourse shifts in political texts also witness and implicate the ideological and social transformations.

The following subsections will elaborate on China’s metadiscourses under each leader’s reign and their relations to political legitimacy.

4.2.1 Deng’s Period (1976-1990): ‘Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’

After the demise of Mao, Deng instigated an experimental economic reform in order to recover the stagnant economy and started to reverse Mao’s excessive emphasis on class struggle and mass campaigns in domestic politics. He thus faced the dilemma of legitimising the semi-capitalistic economy within the Marxist-oriented socialist state. At this political turning point, ‘building socialism with Chinese characteristics’ emerged as a new ideological line guiding the economic transformation and has been established as the essential metadiscourse in post-Deng leaderships. The purpose of the slogan is to highlight the Chinese national and ideological identity and independence from both the rigid Soviet Communism and western capitalism. Implicit here is the primary attempt to legitimise the practice of integrating a market economy within a socialist system (Narayanan 2006: 334).

It can be understood in Deng's own explanation that 'by Marxism we mean Marxism that is integrated with Chinese conditions, and by socialism we mean a socialism that is tailored to Chinese conditions and has a specifically Chinese character. Although this political wisdom was claimed to come from Mao's theories prominently known as 'practice is the sole criterion of truth' and 'seeking truth from facts', the entextualised discourse from his predecessor is aptly recontextualised in Deng's rhetoric to prioritise the economic reform in order to enrich the country and sustain the communist mandate, reflecting the renewal of the ideological demand as well as the realistic pursuit of the state. Being a pragmatist and consequentialist, Deng did have a more balanced view in terms of realpolitik and showed a deep concern for China's well-being, and a liberal tendency in terms of economic construction.

His fundamental philosophy is further illustrated by his so-called "cat theory", which states – no matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice, it is a good cat. By proposing such a pragmatic approach to the economy and introducing a non-conventional discourse, he injected new energy into Chinese economic and political life in order to replace the political dogmatism prevalent in the late period of Mao. It can be inferred that the legitimisation of Deng's theory is largely achieved through the reinterpretation of Maoism, which opened up crucial rhetorical space for Dengist reform in the decades to come (Qiu 2000: 254).

4.2.2 Jiang's Period (1990-2003): 'Three Represents' and 'Keeping Pace with the Times'

Deng's successor, Jiang Zemin, was in office from 1990 to 2003. Under his leadership, China experienced further economic growth and improved its relations with the outside world. Meanwhile, as the wealth gap between the rich and poor was unprecedentedly widened as a result of the ongoing economic reform, mounting social problems became more prominent than ever to be addressed. As a leader who took

over power from Deng in 1989 and went through turbulent domestic and international situations due to the backlash from the Events of June 4 of 1989, he resorted to the conventional ideological lines to elicit support by giving priority to maintaining socio-political stability and keeping the momentum of economic development on the domestic front. As Zhang (2010: 519) puts it, the rhetoric of stability and unity can also be regarded as a metadiscourse in the Chinese political context, which has been somewhat recontextualised by Jiang, alluding to the growing concern of social unrests resulting from increased economic disparity.

Like every new leader, Jiang also faced an impending legitimisation crisis. The ‘new losers’ (Lu and Simons 2006), mainly workers and peasants who were proclaimed the social pillars under the CPC leadership, began to lose faith in the legitimacy of the Communist Party’s ruling. Jiang was undoubtedly urged to make new moves to the political agenda, aiming to ‘redefining the mission of the CPC under his leadership’ (ibid). The term of ‘Three Represents’ thus came into being and was enshrined as one of the ruling theories of China, along with the guiding ideologies of Marxism-Leninism, Maoism and Dengism. It stipulates that the Party must always represent: the development trend of China’s advanced productive forces; the orientation of China’s advanced culture; the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people (Jiang 2006: 272). Despite the rhetorical ambiguity at face value, this precept was generally perceived as subtle camouflage to amend the Party Constitution with the incorporation of private entrepreneurs into the CPC, as a strategic move to broaden the base of the Party and consolidate its authority in the pursuit of economic development. This claim can be evidenced in his speech where Jiang reiterated Deng’s legacy concerning the supplementary role of the non-public sector as part of the base of the country’s economy and stressed his stance towards it (Zhang 2010: 520). In this regard, Jiang’s legitimisation was successfully established by entextualising his predecessor’s discourse and recontextualising it within his meta-discursive frame of the ‘Three Represents’.

In conjunction with the above guiding metadiscourse during Jiang's leadership, he frequently deployed the term 'keeping pace with the times' as a complementary meta-discursive strategy in reference to making adjustment to the changing situation. One of the new situations Jiang alluded to was undoubtedly the rising wealth and social power of the new capitalists from the non-public sector. This rhetorical tactic also facilitated Jiang's foreign policy motivated by the need to establish "strategic partnership" with the West in the new era. He therefore subtly adapted Deng's low-profile international stance to moving China forward to 'gear with the world' (Zheng and Tok 2007: 3), consequently adding China's weight in the international arena.

4.2.3 Hu's Period (2003-2012): 'Harmony'

In 2003, Hu Jintao succeeded Jiang to take over the running of the country with an unprecedented rate of economic growth and rapidly expanding wealth, but in the meanwhile 'an increasingly divided society' (Zheng & Tok 2007) with continuously widening income gap and regional disparities, prevalent corruption, rising unemployment, and environmental degradation. To manage the situation and curtail the social instability, the CPC led by Hu had to step in with a renewed ideology in the face of the looming legitimacy crisis. Against this backdrop, a set of traditional values centred on the notion of 和谐 (he xie/harmony) was reinvested into the current political discourse during Hu's era, and was employed for both domestic and international politics. Domestically, the re-enactment of the Confucian concept was a political endeavour to rhetorically redress the economic disparity and envisage a more 'balanced' economy, as well as rebuild a social harmony among various social strata. Internationally, the stress on 'harmony' can tacitly act as an antidote to the prevailing 'China threat' claim (Brady 2011: 5).

Furthermore, as Niquet (2011) and Brady (2011) suggest, with the increasing stake China gains in the international arena, it has begun to feel the urge to foster the "soft

power” at the diplomatic front. The CPC’s recontextualisation of Chinese traditional values tends to have a pragmatic significance in China’s new public diplomacy and as part of the political attempts to forge a distinctive Chinese approach to international relations based on the Confucianism-induced benign values of non-interference, non-military principle and ‘harmony’, as opposed to the Western values characterised by interference, use of force and competition. Through the revival of the Confucian values, part of a political process of legitimation was being formed both internally and externally in respect of seeking legitimacy from cultural and historical heritage and creating a new sense of Chinese leaders as ‘benign and powerful reformers’ (Niquet 2009). It can be seen as a way to counterbalance the slow progress of domestic political reform and minimise the external political specificity.

As Lu and Simons (2006) observe, while Jiang continued Deng’s course of economic reform by prioritizing economic growth and Party restructuring, he did not give much attention to the third of his ‘represents’, i.e. the interests of the people, especially the poor. This might account for the widening wealth gap when Hu took office. As part of his legitimation-building paradigm, Hu therefore chose to focus on Jiang’s third ‘represent’, but in a way to recontextualise it in his own Confucianism-based model of governance. In this light, the complementary metadiscourse ‘Putting People First’ came to the fore, echoing the Confucian concept of 仁政 (ren zheng/benevolent rule) which means that a good king should have concern for the well-being of the people. This Confucian notion has been repeatedly referred to by Hu ‘as the manifesto of his government’ (ibid), demonstrating his overarching commitment to heeding the interests of the people, especially the poor and losers in the process of the economic reform.

It can be inferred that Hu’s fostering the distinctive Chinese style of governance is based on the earlier leaders’ entextualised discourses, such as Deng’s “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” and Jiang’s “Three Represents”. This phenomenon reflects a unique way of Chinese leaders’ legitimation building. Of particular interest is Hu’s

going back to the cultural roots for political inspiration symbolises the confidence and maturity of a new generation of Chinese leaders in managing discursive communication for the new era. This discursive practice in reforming China has shaped the contemporary political discourse from a rigid cliché-based style to a sophisticated culturally-oriented fashion.

The above discussion illustrates the metadiscursive reconfiguration of Chinese political representations and its role in building the CPC legitimisation in three successive generations of leadership since China's economic reform over the last 33 years. However, this part of analysis is not merely intended to show that Chinese political discourse is rhetorically confined for ideological manoeuvres, as most relevant studies have focused on. It, on the other hand, seeks to look deeper into the cultural factors which make a fertile source of Chinese leaders' political inspiration, as illustrated in the next sub-section.

4.2.4 Chinese Political Philosophy: Complementary Dialectics

Chinese philosophy is believed to have a close connection with sorcery which was the healing system in ancient times and also constituted the ancestral quest for matter and spirit. Later on, as class division occurred in society, ancient worship of deities gradually gave way to the veneration of the Mandate of Heaven largely as a result of the political manipulation by rulers. The traditional sorcerers had to provide answers with reason rather than resort to the familiar source of augury, emerging gradually as philosophers. It is thus can be perceived that the development of Chinese philosophy is bound up with the evolvement of human society. It tends to concern human nature in relation to social issues rather than the 'pure' spiritual or material nature as pursued in Western philosophy.

Chinese political thoughts are embedded in the general philosophical milieu and developed as a response to major social changes. The Confucianism-centred

philosophical system has a fundamental interest in human affairs and achievements, enabling China to have a strong sense of history and tradition which is by no means regarded as insignificant. This cultural trait has a direct influence on the CPC's rhetorical construction. As discussed earlier, Chinese leaders are ethically and morally bound to build current progress on the "glorious achievements" created by the earlier leaders. This is the basic principle for establishing new legitimacy. Moreover, the central metadiscourse "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" also hints at the endeavour to retain a distinctive Chinese tradition on the political path it pursues. A beneficial by-product of this culturally-embedded rhetorical tradition is to incrementally cultivate nationalism which would serve as a tenacious vehicle to avert public attention from political crisis. In Kluver's (1996: 137) view, the universal tenet of nationalism is to affirm the public that China has a different tradition and its own distinct values and that it makes no sense to follow the foreign path or allow 'foreign involvement' in its domestic affairs.

Apart from this aspect, it can also be perceived that Chinese political formulations are often characterised by the combination of contradictory elements, which is epitomised in the incorporation of capitalism while developing the socialist economy. This expresses another fundamental characteristic of Chinese thinking, which is correlativity, as summarised by Hall and Ames (1998). In the Chinese conceptualisation of the world, all actors are in relations and coexistent in process. Of particular relevance is the way they view pairs of opposites as interacting with each other, both interdependently and complementarily. As Qin (2010) further articulates in his comparison of the Western and Chinese models of thinking, in contrast to the taxonomy-oriented style of Western thinking which tend to view things as independent entities, Chinese thought process is 'relationally oriented and focuses on relations in process' (ibid: 138). Processes are defined as the most important feature of society, because it defines and redefines the relational identity of the actor. The Chinese way of thinking stresses 'constant movement, change, and transformation through interactive relationships' (ibid). Therefore two opposite entities can be viewed

as ‘interdependently related, complementarily constructive and mutually inclusive’ (ibid). This analysis touches on a basic feature of Chinese thinking, complementary dialectics. It enables conflicting elements to interact and complement with each other in the process until they come together and attain the ultimate state of 和 (he), or harmony. This mind-set would lead to the proper understanding of the Chinese pursuit of ‘universal peace’. This process-nurtured transformation is termed 通变 (tong bian/continuity through change), accounting for the inclusiveness in the Chinese thought process (Tian 2008; Qin 2010).

Qin’s conceptualisation of the relational process and complementary dialectics as the fundamental features of Chinese thinking offers another insightful angle for comprehending China’s transformation in the past over 30 years. It goes beyond the ideologically motivated rhetorical analysis of the CPC’s political manoeuvring, and provides a fertile cultural and philosophical source for interpreting the distinctive Chinese way of effecting change through political continuity and pursuing development by integrating elements of conflictual nature. The historically and culturally justified political behaviour, conjoined by the nationalistic impulse evoked by the ‘Chineseness’, is more likely to retain the legitimation within the existing political structure.

As spelled out by Kluver (1996: 133) in his comparative analysis of Chinese and Western political rhetoric, in contrast to its Western counterpart which is based on the idea of persuasion and rooted in rationality, Chinese political discourse tends to be motivated by a utilitarian purpose to justify the mandate of the ruling elite. Although it cannot be deprived of the function of persuasion, the persuasive power of political discourse is to move the nation, rather than to impress the audience. In the Chinese political context, persuasion primarily arises from justification. In other words, political commitments are presumed, rather than derived from rhetorical action, although it seems undeniable that rhetorical formulation is at the core of political representations to induce commitment and ‘regiment the public mind’ (Brady 2002).

4.2.5. Metadiscourse as a Socio-cognitively Oriented Notion for Discourse Construction

The next few paragraphs will focus on the socio-cognitive role the political metadiscourses play in justifying the CPC's authority and unifying thoughts for ideological purposes. Recollecting the previous discussion of van Dijk's socio-cognitive CDA model, the basic assumptions are that public minds are controlled by the management of knowledge which is operated and enforced by powerful groups in society. Knowledge management is chiefly embodied in discourse. It can be deduced that minds are controlled by the groups in power through discourse and that those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to rein in the minds and actions of others.

Under this general principle, Ji (2004; 2011) expands the literature of political discourse study in her exploration of the 'linguistic engineering' of Chinese political discourse. In a loose sense, Ji (2004) defines the term 'linguistic engineering' as 'any attempt to change language in order to affect attitudes and beliefs' (ibid: 3). It is further stated that linguistic engineering in (quasi-)totalitarian societies can be effectively controlled by the state. In China, it is directed by the communist party in an attempt to mould people's mind by compelling them to participate in a standardised discourse. It mainly involves enforcing the habitual use of fixed expressions and standardised scripts that embody politically correct attitudes which are believed to sink into people's brains and guide their actions (ibid: 4-5).

Of great relevance is that Ji draws the main inspiration from the burgeoning field of cognitive theories. Given that the focus of this chapter is on the discursive analysis of Chinese political discourse, Ji's theoretical considerations will not be presented in detail. Implicitly drawing a line under linguistic determinism, Ji argues that language devised in specific forms can help us to stabilise concepts in which we think and that

linguistic engineering has the potential to predominantly influence our thought. Ji wisely leaves open her discussions by suggesting that the level of effectiveness of linguistic engineering is multifactorially determined depending on the techniques of linguistic engineering used, cognitive capacities of social participants, context models and so on.

This swift angle towards viewing language and mind facilitates her dynamic account of this issue. In Mao's revolutionarised China, as she observes, linguistic engineering in its most radical form was aimed at transforming the minds of the entire population. The masses were required to recite revolutionary phrases, slogans and scripts wherever necessary and to season their speech and writing with those officially approved formulae. In this way, the linguistic engineering was centrally controlled and literally penetrated every aspect of people's lives. In the post-Mao Reform Era, it is illuminating to have Ji (2011) contribute continuously into the study of Chinese political discourse. Under Deng's leadership, the overall implementation of linguistic engineering was made impossible due to the decollectivisation and the rise of private ownership in China's 'opening-up' process as well as the 'revolutionarised' upgrading of media technology. However, as Ji (2011) and other scholars like Brady (2008; 2011) point out, linguistic engineering persists in upgraded and attenuated forms in post-Mao China. As indicated above, the prerequisites that support central control over the masses through traditional forms of linguistic engineering have faded in the course of China's opening up to the outside world. However, the mechanism that regulates intra-party thought work remains intact. Carefully wrought linguistic formulae are devised to express key elements of current policies in CPC documents and the 'mouthpiece' media of the Party. Meanwhile, the messages that are meant to influence the public are stripped of the dehumanised revolutionary sense and appear increasingly responsive and inspirational as a result of the upgraded and modernised propaganda guidelines in use.

The most convincing illustration of the linguistic engineering in the Reform Era

would be the metadiscourses previously identified as the founding discourse of Chinese political rhetoric for the new era. The fittingly worded phrases or expressions function as ‘significant symbols’ that prompt actions, evoke emotional responses and perform persuasive functions (Denton 1980; Lu 1999). Disseminated from the powerful political groups, such symbols tend to be ultimately shared by societies and entrenched in cultures, revealing the cultural and ideological formation of a society.

The study of political metadiscourse has gained much inspiration from that of political slogans which bear considerable resemblance to the former in terms of style and function. Their main difference resides in the fact that metadiscourses tend to be systematically deployed to construct the discursive system in a certain rhetorical realm. In their comment on persuasive function of political slogans, Stewart et al. (1995: 403) observe that a social group uses slogans to ‘evoke specific responses’ and may ‘provide us with an index of the group’s norms, values, and conceptual rationale for its claims’. The succinct style of metadiscourse has a particular stake in simplifying complicated ideological formulations, creating identification, and engaging in unified thinking. It is cognitively easy to follow and sink into people’s mind, incrementally generating faith in the transformative power of this form of discourse.

Meanwhile, the notion of metadiscourse is used to link the surface meanings of text and talk to the relevant socio-cultural knowledge which could be potentially evoked through the carefully devised pattern of metadiscourse (Guillemn 2009). In this sense, Chinese political metadiscourse can be considered as a fundamental form of discourse in the process of discourse production and comprehension. It is either physically present or tacitly alluded to in the formulation of Chinese political discourse, aiming to frame political representations, unify public thoughts and forge continued political legitimization.

4.3 Political Discourse Analysis and Translation Studies of Political Discourse

As Nahrkhalaji (2009: 493) has argued, the critical analysis of political discourse provides an important avenue to raise translators' awareness about power play embedded in discourse. In this sense, critical revelation of these aspects of discourse can be useful in developing special language skills. This argument is instrumental to take the explanations and interpretations of ideological manipulation in political discourse beyond the domain of CDA to the more applied spheres of translation studies and applied linguistics.

Specifically, this chapter lends valuable insights from the following perspectives in terms of linking political discourse analysis to translation studies in the Chinese context. Firstly, given the socio-cognitive mechanism of metadiscourse in shaping and organising the Chinese political discourse as well as facilitating the acceptability amongst the public, the political metadiscourses, acting as such a generative mechanism, may as well have an impact on the production and comprehension of the translations of political discourse. This assumption will be assessed and instantiated in the following data analysis chapter in detail.

Secondly, the above-analysed discursive transformations in the political field are instrumental to contextualise the changes in the practice of political translation in China. As previously discussed, context models formed by socially shared group knowledge or attitudes underlying the discursive and social practices are crucial to situate the salient textual components entailed in translation studies. Likewise, the socio-cognitively embedded notion of translation norms is also closely bound up by the changes of discursive and social environment to account for translation as a social action. Behind the complexity of translation process and translators' selections moderated by the yardstick of translation norms, detailed political discourse analysis from the perspective of translation studies can reveal the discursive transformations

taking place in China responsive to its socio-political milieu.

Thirdly, the cultural and philosophical traditions in which Chinese political discourse is embedded may have a particular bearing on the following translation analysis of the textual products as a result of the socio-cultural act of translation. This perspective is aimed to enable a culturally-minded political discourse analysis as supplementary contribution to the prevailing ideological account of Chinese political discourse. This line of argument would naturally benefit the present analysis of translation products which are by nature the outcomes of socio-culturally responsive acts of translation in the intercultural context of power struggle.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The survey of research context shows that studies of political discourse are in the intensive pursuit of cultural and rhetorical exploration into the political representations in conjunction with the cognitive perspective as a complementary device. The range of cognitive approaches to the political discourse study, however, has overwhelmingly concentrated on the investigation into political metaphors, which shows somewhat inadequate scholarship in the cognitively-oriented approach to political discourse as a whole. In this regard, the notion of metadiscourse is introduced from a socio-cognitive perspective as the basic mechanism to organise orders of discourse (Fairclough 1997) and guide the audience through texts via power-mediated knowledge management (van Dijk 2002). Hence emphasis is on the correlation between the metadiscursive reconfiguration of Chinese political representations and its role in building the CPC legitimation in three successive generations of leadership since China's economic reform over the last 33 years.

In what follows, the metadiscourses under each leader's leadership have been identified to demonstrate that the earlier leaders' entextualised discourse are recontextualised by later leaders in a unique way that their own metadiscourse are

formed for ideological guidance and legitimacy building. Moreover, the interplay of the metadiscourses has a formative effect on the political (re)configurations generation after generation.

Meanwhile, the notion of metadiscourse is recast into a socio-cognitive light to fit into the entire analytical framework of the thesis. The compact form of metadiscourse plays a pivotal role in organising complicated ideological formulations and facilitating unified thinking. Furthermore, the notion of metadiscourse acts as an interface to link the surface discourse meanings to the relevant socio-cultural knowledge which could be potentially activated through the carefully devised pattern of metadiscourse.

Another highlight of this chapter rests on the attempt to give a general philosophical and cultural milieu when accounting for the essential features of Chinese politics. It is indicated that Chinese political formulations are fundamentally influenced by complementary dialectics which enables conflicting elements to interact and complement with each other in the process until they come together and attain the ultimate state of 和 (he/harmony). This point largely accounts for the core feature of Chinese politics in the incorporation of capitalism into the socialist economy while sustaining the political stability over a fairly long period of time. Therefore it is suggested that Chinese political representations move beyond mere rhetorical manoeuvre and are deeply embedded in the cultural and philosophical traditions.

In a word, this chapter not only enables an in-depth understanding of the original Chinese political discourse, but also provides a solid and more tangible analytical grounding for exploring the changes of strategies in Chinese political translation across the three generations of leadership.

Chapter Five

Textual Analysis of the Translations of Political Speeches

This chapter aims to illustrate the theoretical propositions proposed above by examining the evolvement of translated political discourse in three successive periods of leadership since China embarked on its economic reform in the late 1970s. The corpus of data is formed by five sets of Chinese political speeches and their English translations delivered by three former state leaders (Deng, Jiang and Hu) of each of their periods of leadership. The focus is on presenting a holistic picture of the translation of Chinese political discourse through a spectrum of political genres.

A substantial number of parallel examples are presented based on the exhaustive search of functionally identical expressions in the five sets of data. By ‘parallel’, it means that the speeches share a common theme and were delivered on similar official occasions. This particular analytic approach aims to explore the changes of textual representations across the past three decades or so, and to provide insights into the relationship between socio-political changes and texts from a translation studies perspective. In addition, a comprehensive comparative analysis of the STs and the TTs is conducted to give full play of the translation shifts which point to unique translation features of each individual speech.

5.1 Commemorative Speech

Commemorative speech is an important sub-genre of Chinese political speeches and also an essential aspect of political discursive construction in China. It features a well-defined structure: a high-profile declaration of the commencement of the event, paying tribute to the people involved in the commemorated event, recalling related special historical moments, recognizing the achievements of those people, and finally

uniting the audience with a common bond. The main purpose of this kind of speech is to celebrate and inspire. It is normally shorter than other types of political speeches and is characterised by emotive and inspirational rhetorical styles.

The CPC favours a continuation of its ruling and is especially good at consolidating its legitimacy from its past achievements. Commemorative speech rightly falls into the typical Chinese political rhetoric pattern in which the affective mode of relating to the past is interwoven into the discursive construction of the present. In Davies's (2008) elaboration of the relationship between Chinese thoughts and rhetoric, it is deemed as a cognitive-affective vehicle to enable the present speech event under examination to be not only understood cognitively but also felt as an emotional impact. It is also claimed that the hold over the way the audience experience the present becomes greater as the feelings grow stronger.

This parallel examination of the commemorative speeches is particularly informative to the discourse shifts, thus explicating the changes of Chinese politics against the unique political rhetoric pattern and how these changes affect the practice of translation. Meanwhile, it is helpful to look into the role translation plays in reproducing regimes of meaning where particular relations of signification have emerged in the new era.

5.1.1 Socio-political Background of the Commemorative Speeches

The following part of the paper is devoted to introducing the socio-political background in which the data is embedded. The data under examination comprise three Chinese speeches delivered by Deng, Jiang and Hu and their English translations at the ceremonies celebrating the 35th, 50th and 60th anniversaries of the founding of the PRC (People's Republic of China) in 1984, 1999 and 2009 respectively.

Deng delivered the speech in 1984 after an eye-catching grand troop review ceremony which was the first since it was brought to a halt in 1959 under his predecessor Mao and also the first after the introduction of China's reform and opening-up policy in the late 1970s. This ceremony was unprecedented in grandeur by showcasing China's world-class weapons and the new outlook of military capacity, prompting strong reactions both at home and abroad. Delivered on this special occasion, the speech served as a linguistic investment to respond to the social-political event. Moreover, the abovementioned generic features of commemorative speech would maximise the effort to boost national prestige and pride, the effect that the discursive event intends to achieve.

The year 1999 marked China's 50th founding anniversary and the return of Macau after 443 years of occupation by Portugal. Jiang seized upon these events as a unique opportunity to divert attention from mounting domestic problems and external difficulties. Likewise, following a grand National Day parade on Tian'anmen square, Jiang delivered a speech commemorating the founding of the PRC in an effort to inspire patriotism and reinforce the CPC's political legitimacy under his leadership. By recalling at the outset that he was on the very same rostrum on which Mao and Deng had once stood, Jiang sought to impress the audience, both domestically and internationally, that he was amongst these great leaders as the 'third-generation' supreme leader. He underscored socio-political stability, effective implementation of the reform and subsequent economic achievements, as well as the enhanced international status. In parallel with this high-profile discursive endeavor, the CPC has since then stepped up ideological education of party cadres to foster the next-generation leadership.

When it came to its 60th anniversary founding celebration in 2009, China's international standing had been steadily and conspicuously on the rise owing to the effective market measures adopted. However, it had to stand up to a series of troubles that had emerged alongside its development, including an economic slowdown, social

unrest, and political challenges from dissidents. What compounded the situation was that several peripheral but sensitive anniversaries co-occurred with this main theme because the year 2009 also marked the anniversaries of some unpleasant upheavals. Against this backdrop, the CPC has tightened its opinion control to maintain political stability which took the form of firm control over public power. The underlined motifs for media operation on the 60th anniversary would be to highlight the leading position of the CPC under Hu, the merits of the socialist system, and importance of the opening and reform policy and national unity. It goes without saying that the implementation of all of the endorsed motifs culminated in the discursive embodiment of the commemorative speech delivered by Hu.

5.1.2 General Features of Translation in the Three Speeches

The 1984 speech is characterised by Deng's hallmark style of succinctness and sharpness. In translation the sharpness has been toned down to some extent. For example, in condemning the crimes committed by the 'Gang of Four', he used a traditional four-character set phrase '倒行逆施 (dao xing ni shi/do wrong things to turn back history)' which was simply rendered as 'reactionary deeds'. In this way the semantic scope of this term in the ST is constrained through mere classification of the crimes as reactionary so that the emotive dimension in lambasting their deeds is greatly restrained.

Another aspect of translation shift involves the adaptations to the target audience. For instance, when he was outlining the future tasks, Deng mentioned '全体职工和干部的教育工作 (quanti zhigong he ganbu de jiaoyu gongzuo/the education work of workers, administrative staff and cadres)'. Within the Chinese communist discourse, 'education work' is a popular Party jargon to refer to regular meetings of masses and Party members for politics study in order to keep public opinions on the politically correct track. However, the direct linguistic co-presence in the TT would be out of place as this term would make little sense to the target audience. Therefore, it was

shifted to ‘training’ in the TT, a well-received lexis in the target community. This is seen as a modernised step to fit the translation into the target discursive environment. Moreover, it should be more readily accepted by the western audience since the political motivation of the original sense has hardly been activated.

The 1999 speech abounds with figurative and flowery inspirational expressions in line with Jiang’s ‘big talk’ style, primarily because he is more keenly aware that Chinese political actors need to count on the power of rhetoric to move the nation. Their political legitimacy is built on justification based on a utilitarian purpose rather than persuasion derived from rationality in western political discourse (Kluver 1996: 133). Only in this way public political commitments can be demanded and actions secured.

In respect of translation, most of the metaphoric expressions have been retained and some even been given more salience. Take the following sentence as an example. 中国社会主义的航船将乘风破浪地驶向现代化的光辉彼岸 (zhongguo shehuizhuyi de hangchuan jiang chengfengpolang de shixiang xiangdaihua de guanghui bi'an/The ship of China's socialist construction will brave the wind and waves and sail to the glorious destination of modernization). The translators turned the implicit form of comparison into an explicit one by adding ‘like’, thus the official translation has become ‘China would stride forward in building socialism, like a ship braving the wind and waves, towards the glorious destination of modernization’. It is noticeable that the translation shift involves a shift of transitivity which foregrounds the actor ‘China’ and thus textually highlights its role in exercising the action. It should also be noted that the emotive modifiers like ‘辉煌 (hui huang/sublime)’ and ‘无限光明 (wu xiang guang ming/extremely bright)’ , though they seem marked in the target language by the excessively positive values attributed to a certain actor, have all been ‘faithfully’ relayed into the TT to inject a note of ‘Chinese distinctiveness’ into the translated political discourse.

Apart from the marked features, there are some other efforts to make the TTs

stylistically congruous in the target linguistic community. In terms of translating the parallel construction, translators appear to bear in mind that English texts expect a different code of convention and attempt to reduce the level of repetition in the TTs. For instance, in ‘只有社会主义才能救中国，只有社会主义才能发展中国 (zhiyou shehuizhiyi caineng jiu zhongguo, zhiyou shehuizhiyi caineng fazhan zhongguo/Only socialism can save China, and only socialism can develop China.)’, the ST features a concise and balanced configuration of parallel clauses, which is a congruent rhetorical device employed in Chinese political discourse to achieve a special persuasive and emotional effect on the audience. However, high levels of repetition does not seem to be as much expected in the receptive context, therefore some of the parallel structures have been reconstructed, such as the one mentioned above. It is rendered as ‘Socialism is the only way to save and develop China.’ This textual mediation partly indexes the tendency to value fluency and acceptability in the translated discourse.

The 2009 speech is also permeated with the inspirational rhetoric, but the translators seem to be well informed of Hu’s pragmatic style and carry out the cross-lingual restructurings in a way that the highly emotive expressions can be moderately dealt with. This point will be illustrated in conjunction with relevant textual evidence in Jiang’s speech. It comes at the end of Hu’s speech as ‘中国的发展前景无限美好 (zhongguo de fazhan qianjing wuxian meihao/China’s vision of development is extremely beautiful.)’, which is translated as ‘we envision bright prospect for China’s development.’ In comparison, a similar one occurs in the concluding remarks of Jiang, which is ‘中国的未来是无限光明的 (zhongguo de weilai shi wuxian guangming de/China’s future is extremely bright.)’. The official English translation is ‘China has an extremely bright future’.

Both sentences in question have undergone a certain degree of transitivity shifts. In the 2009 speech the attributive relational clause has been shifted to a mental one led by ‘envision’, so that the factual tone in the ST is significantly downplayed and replaced by a tentative assumption which is further underlined by the elimination of

the excessive modifier ‘extremely’ from the TT. In a similar but milder fashion, the parallel sentence of the 1999 speech involves the translation shift from an attributive relational clause to a possessive one. Although the assertive tone anchored in ‘be’ in the ST has been slightly toned down due to the shift to ‘has’, the possessive clause type signaled by ‘have (has)’ in the TT seems to suggest an accentuated role of the actor ‘China’ in charging its future towards an exceptionally positive end. However, this translation shift is only subtly stamped into the TT, and the impact on the target community may well be affected in highly intricate ways. This can be theoretically accounted for by the functional homogeneity of the TT clauses in the two speeches as the possessive clause can be viewed as a subtype of relational clause along with the attributive one (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Thompson 2004).

5.1.3 Parallel Analysis

Parallel Example One

我们中国人从此**站起来了**。 (Deng 1984a)

(LT)⁵ We Chinese since then *stood up*.

(OT)⁶ Ever since then the Chinese people have *stood on their feet*. (Deng 1984b)

中国人民**从此站起来了**。 (Jiang 1999a)

(LT) The Chinese people *since then* stood up.

(OT) *Hence* the Chinese People stood up. (Jiang 1999b)

中国人民**从此站起来了**。 (Hu 2009a)

(LT) The Chinese people *since then* stood up.

(OT) *At that moment*, the Chinese people stood up. (Hu 2009b)

All of the three speakers have mentioned their predecessor, the first-generation leader Chairman Mao as a departure to trace the history of the PRC and identify the CPC’s contribution in the state-building. The ST extracts converge in meaning and style, therefore diachronic changes in the STs and TTs would be of immense interest to this

⁵ LT refers to literal translation provided by the author.

⁶ OT refers to official translation quoted from official publications.

study which focuses on the transformation of discourse along the socio-political trajectory.

In terms of the ST expressions, Jiang and Hu's speeches are the same, while Deng makes a distinction at the initial position of the sentence where 中国人民 (zhongguo renmin/the Chinese people) used in the latter two sentences has been changed into 我们中国人 (women zhongguoren/we Chinese). The appositive construction is apparently composed of an inclusive pronoun *we* and a less formal referent *Chinese*. It conveys a more colloquial tone and emotional appeal to the Chinese audience and gives the impression that the speaker intends to position himself amid his people and share their feelings. Despite the difference in the STs, the 1984 speech converges with the latter two in translation regarding this point. All of them are translated as *the Chinese people*. This phenomenon points to a tendency in translation to stay neutral and tone down the emotive language. To put this in context, the shift of the first-person to third-person angle hints that the translators seek to project an objective and formal outlook of the speaker and his country in front of the external audience.

What captures greater attention is the divergent versions in translation. All the three TTs have foregrounded the time adverbial 从此 (congci/since then) which could be functionally viewed as conjunctive adjunct (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 81). The thematised adjuncts show the translators' intention to relate to the preceding text and set up more explicit cohesion to let in the emotionally-laden and metaphorically-invested sentence that the Chinese people have become independent.

Of more interest is that there are three different renderings of the same ST term 从此 (congci/since then). In the 1984 speech, it is accentuated by a modal adjunct *ever* indicating the absolute usuality of the latter proposition. This textual emphasis is in line with the thematised operation of this element in an attempt to highlight the cohesive marker. In the 1999 speech, a semantic shift in the rendering of this word into *hence* adds a hint of causal relationship into the temporal lineation. It seems to

suggest that there would not have been the national independence without Mao's painstaking effort to found the country. This variation in translation can be seen as a subtle manipulation to accord with the broader theme of the discursive event which is to stress the leading position of the CPC and sustain social stability. In the 2009 version, *at that moment* strikes an informal note and invokes a narrative tone, which seems to suggest that the speaker is starting to narrate the history of his country to the people. The message underlying this conversational and sedate style seems to be that despite the challenges and difficulties ahead; the country is settled into a relatively steady phase of development and is supposed to carry on in the (politically) right direction.

Another change in the TTs involves the translations of 站起来 (*zhan qi lai/stand up*) at the end of each sentence. It is distinctively couched as *stand on their feet* in the 1984 speech in comparison with the other two speeches. The emphasis on *on their feet* evokes a down-to-earth image of the people who had the *three mountains* on their backs thrown off and could stand in a real sense. With its revolutionary success in 1949 the CPC claimed itself as the savior to have thrown the *three mountains* off the people's back, which has since then through various channels become embedded into the public discourse. This image was thus integrated into the collective cognition which has been constantly moulded by the pervasive Chinese communist discourse. On the one hand, it seems that the translators go a step further to activate the image with a view to conveying a unique sense of the Chinese political discourse to target readers. On the other hand, the accentuated tone suggests a sense of pride in the CPC's nation building, giving slight traces of the emotionally-charged style of the early Chinese political discourse in conformity to the ubiquitous propaganda campaign, which could be seen as an undisguised mode of thought management.

As time goes by, the 1999 and 2009 speeches tend to opt for an unmarked phrase *stand up*, reflecting an unobtrusive lifelike experience which the audience may find easier to empathise with. This resounds with Brady's (2011: 1) observation that in

recent years China has made efforts in updating its traditional methods of mind control by borrowing Western patterns of mass persuasion. This change of wording suggests a tendency in the domain of political and diplomatic translation to be more adaptive to target knowledge configurations and put more emphasis on the interaction with the target schematic structures.

Parallel Example Two

全国各族同胞，包括港澳同胞、台湾同胞和海外侨胞 (Deng 1984a)

(LT) the compatriots of all our *zu*⁷, including the compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan and those residing abroad

(OT) the people of all our *nationalities*, including our compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan and those residing abroad (Deng 1984b)

全国各族人民和海内外爱国同胞 (Jiang 1999a)

(LT) the people of all *zu* in the country and all patriotic compatriots at home or overseas

(OT) the people of all *ethnic groups* in China and all patriotic compatriots at home or overseas (Jiang 1999b)

全国各族人民和海内外爱国同胞 (Hu 2009a)

(LT) the people of all *zu* in the country and all patriotic compatriots at home or overseas

(OT) people from all *ethnic groups* in the country and patriotic compatriots from home and abroad (Hu 2009b)

This set of sentences involves a strategy of naming, a typical aspect of political discourse (Wilson 1990; Beard 2000; Kang 2007; Molek-Kozakowska 2010). It is a crucial linguistic device to identify how the referents are described and from which perspective the speech writer is describing them. In the light of translation, it is also of interest to investigate how these terms are reconstructed in the target language. In the

⁷ *Zu*: as in *min zu*, it is a Mandarin lexical term, referring to the nationalities or ethnic groups that are considered to form the whole Chinese nation. Due to the changing practices of translation in different periods, this term remains untranslated in the English translations to avoid potential confusion.

STs, the basic referent *the Chinese people living at home and abroad* has been expressed differently in the 1984 speech as compared with the latter two. The 1984 speech refers to the entire people as 同胞 (tong bao/compatriots) and further specifies each integral part of it, while both the 1999 and 2009 speeches choose to refer to the Chinese people living in China as 全国各族人民 (quanguo gezu renmin/the people of all *zu* in the country) and those living abroad as 海内外爱国同胞 (haineiwai aiguo tongbao/all patriotic compatriots at home or overseas). One obvious reason is that in 1999 Hong Kong has already returned to China and Macau was about to be handed over in December so there is no need to specify the two regions in the latter two speeches. In what follows, it would be slightly obtrusive and inappropriate on the ceremonial occasion to single out the thorny Taiwan issue, which might account for the absence of 台湾人民 (tanwan renmin/Taiwan people) in the latter two speeches. Another change in the STs is that the 1999 and 2009 speeches use 人民 (ren min/people) other than 同胞 (tong bao/compatriots) to address the internal Chinese people, which appear less emotive and more sober and objective. It can be viewed as a departure from the motivational style of the revolutionary language in the earlier communist discourse.

In the three TTs, the changes in translating the lexis 族 (*zu*) capture most attention. 族 (*zu*) is a familiar notion in the Chinese public discourse as the nation is constantly cast in the idea that China is a big family consisting of 56 *zu* and that all the peoples in the 56 *zu* are sons and daughters of the motherland. Cognitively 族 (*zu*) serves as an emotive bond to unify public thoughts and strengthen national unity. Given the rich socio-cognitive values the term is endowed with, it is inevitable that it has been given intensive attention as such in the domain of translation.

族 (*zu*) was first rendered as *nationality* in the 1984 speech and changed into *ethnic group* in the other two. Nationality is basically a legal concept that refers to one's country of origin, therefore it would be potentially confusing to put that a country consists of many nationalities. Moreover, it does no good to conjure up the image of a

unified country, a message that the Chinese authorities constantly seek to get across. In contrast, *ethnicity* is culturally oriented and refers to a group of people with common cultural or religious traits. Despite the semantic compatibility, this word seems to have a negative racist connotation, which may account for the lexical adaptation into *ethnic group*. Tailored to the Chinese context, this phrase is consistent with the endorsed concept of China as a culturally diverse nation, and helps to project a positive image at the diplomatic front. This instance has expressly illustrated the mainstream role translation plays in the discursive reconstruction of political discourse.

Another lexical change in the TTs involves the translation of 海内外 (hai nei wai/inside and outside the sea). In the Chinese culture, *sea* was originally conceived as the borderline between China and foreign countries, therefore 海内 (hai nei/inside the sea) is used to refer to China and 海外 (hai wai/outside the sea) to foreign countries. This ancient notion has been carried over into modern Chinese which is characterised with the interspersed use of ancient rhetoric. This linguistic pattern would be particularly favoured in the rhetorically invested commemorative speech whose primary aim is to inspire and persuade. The 1999 TT was predominantly influenced by the original token *sea* and represented the image in the translation, therefore *overseas* was used. However, the cognitive and cultural frame of the target audience can hardly be identical to that of the source. Specifically when it comes to referring to going outside one's country, due to the semantic limitation incurred by the concept of *sea*, *overseas* is not as widely used as *abroad* in the target language. Therefore in the 2009 speech the word *abroad* was restored. In this sense, the changes in translation appear to indicate the development of political translation towards an informed and consultative stage, suggesting a growing tendency that target readership is more effectively accommodated.

Parallel Example Three

三十五年前，我国各族人民的伟大领袖毛泽东主席，在这里庄严 *宣布* 了中华人民共和国的成立。 (Deng 1984a)

(LT) Thirty-five years ago, the great leader of the people of all our nationalities of our country, Chairman Mao Zedong, here solemnly *announced* the founding of the People's Republic of China.

(OT) Thirty-five years ago Chairman Mao Zedong, the great leader of the people of all our nationalities, solemnly *proclaimed* here the founding of the People's Republic of China. (Deng 1984b)

五十年前的今天，毛泽东主席在这里向世界 *宣告* 了新中国的诞生。 (Jiang 1999a)

(LT) Fifty years ago today, Chairman Mao Zedong here *proclaimed* to the world the birth of New China.

(OT) Fifty years ago today, Chairman Mao Zedong *proclaimed* here to the world the birth of New China. (Jiang 1999b)

毛泽东主席 *在这里* 向世界庄严 *宣告* 了中华人民共和国的成立。 (Hu 2009a)

(LT) Chairman Mao Zedong *here* solemnly *declared* to the world the founding of the People's Republic of China.

(OT) *It was here* that Chairman Mao Zedong solemnly *declared* to the world the founding of the People's Republic of China. (Hu 2009b)

All the three speeches have mentioned Mao's declaration of the PRC as a starting point for the recollection of the CPC's historic achievements. In the STs, the constructions are similar in style and content. The focus is mainly on the shifts between the STs and TTs and changes in the TTs. A translation shift is involved in the 1984 speech where 宣布 (xuan bu/announce) was rendered as *proclaim*. Although there is not much significant difference between the two, it would make some sense to suggest that the latter is more officially and formally registered and implies that the message is intended to spread to the world. The shift in translation seems to have a subtle effect on Jiang and Hu's speeches in which a slightly different verb 宣告 (xuan gao/declare/proclaim) has been opted for. This example is tentatively indicative

of the role translation plays in interacting with ST production, where translation is integrated into the discursive reconstruction of the original texts on the grounds that the TT production stems from the same culture as that of the ST. Under these circumstances, the traditional view that ST and TT productions are separate and independent comes under challenge given the increasing interdependence between the two categories of discursive activities in the Chinese political context. The production of the Chinese political discourse is thus in a more responsive position to accommodate the subtle changes in its translations.

In terms of the syntactic structure, the 2009 TT gives more salience in its special organization of the clause as message. The combination of thematic and special informational choice is defined as theme predication in the domain of functional grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 95-98). In this structure, the focus of information is explicitly foregrounded before the main proposition. Specifically, the circumstantial adjunct *here* is highlighted in a way to direct the audience's attention to it. In connection to the co-text that Hu declared that he was *here* delivering the speech to commemorate the founding of the 60th anniversary of China, the implication would be that he was literally standing on par with the privileged founder Mao. The textual manipulation would be viewed as a tentative attempt to set up additional political legitimacy for Hu in line with the motifs underlining the speech event.

5.1.4 Summary

For analytic clarity, the above mix of textual evidences is further synthesised into the following functional categories, as shown in the table. The numbers show the instances of translation shifts falling onto the categories in the above examples which will be evidently outnumbered by the instances as there may be more than one salient points (instances) drawing attention within one example.

	Deng	Jiang	Hu
TT accommodations	1	2	2
ST distinctiveness	1	1	
Neutralisation	1	2	3
Legitimation		2	3
Intertextuality	1		

Table 1 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Commemorative Speeches

The first category ‘TT accommodations’ marks out one of the major tendencies of the translation shifts amongst this set of speeches. During the three periods of leadership, consistent endeavours are made to fit the translated political discourse into the target discursive configurations. It seems that translators bear in mind different textual conventions and expectations in the target community, and put more emphasis on the interaction with the target schematic structures. For instance, the TTs are made stylistically congruous with the TT conventions by reducing the level of repetition in rendering the parallel constructions. In addition, the change of wording frequently occurs to adapt to target conventions. Meanwhile, the statistics show that this respect of translation shifts is given fuller play in Jiang and Hu’s periods, suggesting a growing tendency that target readership is more effectively accommodated with the passage of time.

The second category ‘ST distinctiveness’ shows, on the other hand, a unique note of distinctiveness is retained in the TTs in line with the overarching ideo-political guidelines. The emotionally-charged style of the early Chinese political discourse, for instance, remains relatively intact when rendered in the TTs on some occasions. As illustrated in the table, it is of interest to note that this feature is rarely visible in the translation of Hu’s speech, which may indicate a more forward-looking move to

merge with the global discourse as China continues its ‘opening-up’ to the outside world.

The third category ‘neutralisation’ shows a fairly consistent number of instances have pointed towards a growing tendency of neutralising the emotive or high-blown rhetoric in the TTs. For instance, in some cases the first-person narrative is shifted to the third-person angle, hinting at the pursuit of projecting an objective and formal outlook of the speaker and his country in front of the external audience. It can be viewed as a salient departure from the motivational style of the revolutionary language in the earlier communist era.

The fourth category ‘legitimation’ demonstrates the unique discursive investment into the legitimacy building from the perspective of translation. This translation strategy is homogeneous with van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as a result of the privileged access to discourse management by powerful groups. For instance, intra-textual cohesion is augmented in the translation of Jiang’s speech as a subtle textual manipulation to accord with the authorised theme of the discursive event which is to stress the leading position of the CPC and sustain social stability. In the translation of Hu’s speech, the change of wording is increasingly involved to help to project a positive image at the diplomatic front or to set up additional political legitimacy for the CPC authority under his leadership.

The figures evidently suggest an enhanced awareness of the role translation plays in the discursive consolidation of legitimacy building. These findings thus tangibly reiterate Brady’s (2011) observation that in recent years China has made efforts in updating its traditional methods of mind control by employing Western patterns of mass persuasion, as a macro-level move towards the interaction with the outside world.

The fifth category ‘intertextuality’ is generally premised on the Fairclough’s theoretical formulation of intertextual analysis as mentioned earlier. As a complement to linguistic analysis, intertextuality shows how texts selectively draw on ‘orders of discourse’ which are understood as the particular configurations of conventionalised practice (Fairclough 1995: 188). Given the across-lingual contexts available for translation studies, intertextuality demonstrated in this set of data tends to be interpreted as the dialectical relationship between ST and TT production. Whereas there seems to be traditionally agreed that TTs are primarily influenced by STs, evidence indicates that translation is exerting some level of influence on the ST production in a way that the ST producers are in an informed position to embrace and accommodate the subtle translation shifts in the ST production.

This phenomenon is diachronically demonstrated in Parallel Example Three where a translation shift in Deng’s speech has been accommodated in the original speeches of the two latter leaders, resulting in the discourse change of the STs. It indicates the role translation plays in interacting with ST production, where translation is integrated into the formation of ‘orders of discourse’ which were traditionally posited to be impacted by STs.

5.2 Diplomatic Speeches: UN Speeches

5.2.1 General Features of Translation in the Three Speeches:

5.2.1.1 Deng's Speech

This set of data comprises three political speeches delivered at the UN by Deng, Jiang and Hu. Deng's speech was presented in 1974 at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly. As the first top Chinese leader to speak at the UN forum since China reclaimed its lawful seat in the UN in 1971, it can be viewed as the first time when China expressly exported its central ideology at the international platform where Deng publicly set forth Chairman Mao Zedong's theory of the 'Three Worlds', lashed out against hegemony and oppression imposed by the two superpowers and sincerely embraced the third-world countries for independence and development. This speech not only attracted worldwide attention, but served as a departure for setting up his international reputation.

Accordingly, the language in this speech is marked by a confrontational feature. To put this in Young's (1991) term, the political discourse in the 1970s' mirrors in its vocabulary the Manichaeian system of values. Particularly in this speech it is largely composed of two incompatible sets of vocabulary: the positively valuated expressions including 'communist', 'socialist', 'proletarian', 'people', and 'struggle', etc; negatively valuated words associated with 'imperialism', 'hegemony', 'exploitation', 'oppression', 'superpower' and 'interference' etc. Through the comprehensive analysis of the target text, it is found that some notable shifts have been made by the act of translation in terms of the semantic and stylistic dimensions, as illustrated by the following instances.

5.2.1.1.1 TT Accommodations

Example One

讨论反对帝国主义剥削和掠夺、改造国际经济关系的重大问题 (Deng 1974a)

(LT) To discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and *transforming* international economic relations.

(OT) To discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and *effecting a change* in international economic relations. (Deng 1974b)

This example is intended to look into a small proportion of the possible processing effort for the translation product. In this connection, the translation is exemplified to be produced with the awareness of the target cultural frame and the intention to go beyond mechanical ST reproduction by generating the context models that are more accessible to the target audience.

‘改造 (gai zao/transform)’ is deeply imprinted in the Chinese public mindset largely due to the lasting influence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (widely known as ‘Cultural Revolution’) in the 1960s-1970s. In the name of cultural revolution, anyone or anything labeled as ‘bourgeois element’ or ‘counter-revolutionary’ was forced to ‘transform’ their world outlook into a new proletarian one. Given the time when the speech was delivered, it goes without saying that ‘改造 (gai zao/transform)’ had become the catchword in the Chinese context and fallen under the rubric of communist ideology. However, when it is rendered as ‘effect a change’, the highly ideologically charged connotation has diminished in the TT and the new phrase appears to conform to the English-speaking context. In this respect, the socio-political awareness of the translators seems to take effect when priority is given to mitigating the ideological conflicts and enhancing the standard of textual acceptability through translation.

5.2.1.1.2 Metaphorisation

Example Two

(它们)提高它们自己的产品的出口价格,压低发展中国家原料价格,牟取暴利。
(Deng 1974a)

(LT) (They) raise the export prices of their own products, force down the prices of raw materials from the developing countries, and *gain* massive profits.

(OT) (They) *reap* fabulous profits by raising the export prices of their own products and forcing down those of raw materials from the developing countries. (Deng 1974b)

Example Three

独立自主、自力更生，决不是**脱离**本国实际。(Deng 1974)

(LT) Independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be *separated* from the actual conditions of a country;....

(OT) The policy of independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be *divorced* from the actual conditions of a country;...

Examples Two and Three suggest a tendency to metaphorise the language in the TT. Instead of corresponding to the metaphoric expressions in the ST, the TT ventures to transform the common and banal expressions ‘牟取 (mo qu/gain)’ and ‘脱离 (tuo li/separate)’ into more concrete and vivid ones ‘reap’ and ‘divorce’ which are particularly associated with lifeworld experience. This might partly account for the ever-lasting popularity of the use of metaphors in political discourse in that with the help of metaphor a rigid conceptual frame can be broken up by introducing new options and stimulating political thought and imagination (Chilton & Ilyin 1993). This strategic use of the special rhetorical device marks out the translators’ intention to lubricate the potential friction of political communication at the debut of Deng’s international presence and enhance the interactive dimension of Chinese political speeches.

5.2.1.1.3 ST Alignment

Example Four

美国、苏联**是**第一世界。亚非拉发展中国家和其他地区的发展中国家，**是**第三世界。处于这两者之间的发达国家**是**第二世界。(Deng 1974a)

(LT) The United States and the Soviet Union *are* the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions *are* the Third World. The developed countries between the two *are* the Second World.

(OT) The United States and the Soviet Union *make up* the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions *make up* the Third World. The developed countries between the two *make up* the Second World.
(Deng 1974b)

This example basically demonstrates the translational mediation oriented towards heightening the ideo-political stance of the ST producer by opting for the words with a slightly salient semantic orientation.

This textual stretch points to the provenance of Mao's well-known 'three worlds' theory which has a far-reaching impact on the configuration of international relations. Compared with the bulk of the speech, this part seems to be more information-oriented and emotionally-neutral. What draws attention, however, is the translators' lexical choice for the predicator '是 (shi/be)' as 'make up' in the TT. As a result, the transitivity shift is involved by means of translation where the relational process in the ST is shifted to a 'quasi-material' one in the TT. By 'quasi-material', it means that as the phrase 'make up' falls onto the borderline between the relational and material process as it indicates the semantic duality of 'belonging' and a subjective sense of 'making something happen'. The marked option for this phrase suggests that the division of the world into three levels is in no way the taken-for-granted outcome, and that it is brought about by human factors manifested as power imbalance and inequality. Therefore this subtle textual manipulation points to the translators' intention to stay in tune with the speaker's stance to fulminate against the opposite camp. From the CDA perspective, this strategy is largely motivated by the power play where knowledge transfer in the translating process seems to be directed towards the source culture group which holds more discursive power in this respect.

5.2.1.1.4 Formalisation Strategy

Example Five

如果中国有朝一日变了颜色，变成一个超级大国，也在世界上称王称霸，到处欺负人家，侵略人家，剥削人家，那么，世界人民就应当给中国戴上一顶社会帝国主义的帽子，就应当揭露它，反对它，并且同中国人民一道，打倒它。(Deng 1974a)

(LT) If China one day should change her colour and become a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and *bully, aggress upon and exploit others* everywhere, the people of the world should *put on China a social-imperialist hat*, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to topple it.

(OT) If one day China should change her colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere *subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation*, the people of the world should *identify her as social-imperialism*, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it. (Deng 1974b)

This portion of text occurs near the end of the speech where Deng expresses the determination to do away with hegemony and exploitation in the world by means of a unique rhetorical strategy. The counterfactual statements are placed in the conditional clause alongside the subjunctive mood marker ‘should’ with a view to heightening the persuasive effect of Deng’s reiterated claim that China will never turn into a superpower seeking hegemony.

In terms of the issue of translation, the most eye-catching point would be the formalising strategy employed in the TT. The ST extract is tinged with such metaphorical and colloquial expressions as ‘put on a hat’, ‘bully’ and ‘topple’. However, the TT has taken on a uniformity of formal style stripped of the stylistic heterogeneity in the ST. For instance, the above-mentioned metaphor ‘put on China a social-imperialist hat’ have been rendered into a relatively unmarked phrase ‘identify her (China) as social-imperialism’, and ‘topple’ into a more formal one ‘overthrow’.

Moreover, normalisation is involved in transforming a cluster of single verbs (bully, aggress and exploit) into a nominal pattern (bullying, aggression and exploitation) so that a series of presupposed events are turned into naturalised reality. In a word, the tendency towards formalisation demonstrated in the above two respects is a strategy commonly pursued in the translation of Chinese political discourse, contributing to a more rational and positive representation of China at the international forum, but the spontaneity and wittiness of the speaker's style may nevertheless be compromised.

Example Six

它说了话不算，毫无信义，唯利是图，不择手段。(Deng 1974a)

(LT) It does not mean what it says; it *has not an iota of honesty; it seeks nothing but profits; and resorts to any means to have its own way.*

(OT) It does not *honour its words and is perfidious; it is self-seeking and unscrupulous.* (Deng 1974b)

In comparison with the ST, though the TT appears more concise in meaning and neat in style, there is an identifiable tendency that the sharpness and forcefulness of condemnation of the neo-imperialist power and aggression are not rendered with the same semantic energy in the STs. As the most widely used rhetorical unit in Chinese, these four-character phrases are both balanced in form and accentuated in meaning with significant cultural and aesthetic values. This admittedly poses challenges in translation. Although it can be argued that the TT is by and large the semantic translation of the ST, it is very much target language oriented. The translators can be viewed to adopt a restructuring strategy by converting these highly charged phrases into single verbs. The significant level of lexical compression seems to fit in with the target language norm, but the English version is devoid of the stylistic effect that the unique Chinese set phrases have created.

What is also noted is that the ST takes on a blend of conversational and formal styles

in that the former phrase ‘说了话不算 (shuo le hua bu suan/does not mean what it says)’ is typically orally registered while the latter cluster of the following three four-character phrases are characterised by a formal tone. On the contrary, the TT seems to attain a uniformity of the formal style throughout the stretch of text initiated by the shift of the former phrase to a more formal one ‘does not honour its words’. In conjunction with the preceding analysis, this reduction of the heterogeneous features of the ST tentatively suggests that a conservative strategy as such would be a safer choice in the realm of political translation. This phenomenon may well indicate some level of autonomy placed at the translators’ disposal.

5.2.1.2 Jiang’s Speech

Jiang’s speech was delivered in 1995 on the 50th anniversary of the UN. As China gained renewed confidence by gradually breaking out of the diplomatic isolation and regaining economic momentum since 1989, it set out to play a larger role in the international community. The speech has displayed a drastically softened tone of accusation and discursive investment to construct solidarity at the diplomatic front. In other words, the language in Jiang’s speech tends to be used in a way to build up consensus and collaboration rather than polarise between friends and enemies as shown in Deng’s speech. This is mainly attributed to the relatively relaxing international environment after the Cold War. With regards to the target text, it is found that textual traces of manipulation on the side of translators are more visible than the first one. The translation shifts involved will be illustrated by the following examples.

5.2.1.2.1 Mitigating Strategy

Example Seven

世界上约有二百个国家，无论是社会制度、价值观念和发展程度，还是历史传统、宗教信仰和文化背景，都存在着差异。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) *In the world* there are about 200 countries, and they are different *whether* in

social system, values and development level, *or* in historical tradition, religious beliefs and cultural background.

(OT) *In this world of ours*, there are about 200 countries different from one another *in terms of* social system, values, development level, history, religion and culture. (Jiang 1995c)

This portion of text lays a foundation for the adjacent call for a situation of international harmony in which independent choices could be made by different nations. ‘Seeking independence’ is China’s long-standing attitude in international relations, upon which a substantial part of the CPC’s political legitimacy is developed. Throughout its history, much of the authority of the CPC sprang from the clear stance opposing foreign intervention (Kluver 1996:137). It is obvious that Jiang would do no less than his predecessor to employ the catch phrase ‘independent development’ in order to justify the political ambivalence brought about the quasi-capitalist economic programme within the socialist state. Given this concern, this sentence is intentionally constructed with the syntactically salient connectives that give some semantic emphasis on the national differences across the world. In terms of the TT, although the translation seems more concisely constructed, the original emphatic connotation brought about by the modal connectives has been reduced. As this sentence serves as an evidence for the reiterated stance of ‘seeking common ground while putting aside differences’, the original argumentative tone is somewhat played down by the neutral adjunct ‘in terms of’ involved in the TT.

5.2.1.2.2 Neutralisation

Example Eight

中国是国际大家庭的一员。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) China is a member of the international big *family*.

(OT) China is a member of the *international community*. (Jiang 1995c)

The translation shift from ‘big family’ to ‘community’ suggests a neutral tone that is typically employed in the TT to downplay the emotiveness in the ST. It would be of relevance to look intensively into the term ‘international community’ and its contemporary connotations associated with international relations. The use of this term has gone far beyond the surface meaning of all peoples and governments across the world and been manipulated by powerful nations to call up actions in the guise of human right protection. This instance marks out an evident move on the part of translators to make full use of the global platform of UN assembly to make explicit China’s intention of being part of the dominant discourse.

5.2.1.2.3 Legitimation

In contrast to the downplaying of the ST emotive wordings illustrated in the previous example, the following examples demonstrate that the TT goes a step further by adding modifiers to create a stronger emotional appeal to the audience in a rhetorical attempt to maintain the political legitimacy through translation.

Example Nine

发达国家对其在工业化、现代化过程中造成的生态环境恶化是欠了债的，理所当然地应对环境保护做出更大的贡献。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) The developed countries having owed the rest of the world by causing environmental degradation in their industrialization and modernization should naturally make greater contribution to environmental protection.

(OT) The developed countries, which owe the rest of the world *a great deal* by causing environmental degradation in their industrialization and modernization, should naturally make greater contribution to environmental protection. (Jiang 1995c)

Example Ten

中国离不开世界。中国的改革开放和现代化建设，需要一个长期的国际和平环境，需要同各国发展友好合作关系。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) China cannot stand in separation from the rest of the world, as its reform, opening-up and modernization drive all call for an international environment of lasting peace and friendly and cooperative relations with other countries.

(OT) It (China) cannot stand in separation from the rest of the world, as its reform, opening-up and modernization drive all call for an international environment of lasting peace and *stronger* relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries. (Jiang 1995c)

Example Eleven

具有几千年爱国主义传统的中国人民，完全有能力、有办法、有信心排除任何干扰，完成祖国的统一大业。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) With a patriotic tradition of several thousand years, the Chinese people have the ability, resourcefulness and confidence to overcome any interference to make their national reunification a reality.

(OT) With a *proud* patriotic tradition that dates back to several thousand years ago, the Chinese people have the ability, resourcefulness and confidence to overcome any interference to make their national reunification a reality. (Jiang 1995c)

All the above examples point to a greater autonomy for translators in the process of textual reproduction where they tend to add to the persuasive weighting of the speech by actively engaging in the emotive interaction with the audience. It is also worthy of comment that in Example Nine and Eleven translators initiated structural intervention to achieve some salient effect.

In Example Nine, the embedded relative clause ‘which owe the rest of the world a great deal by causing environmental degradation in their industrialization and modernization’ is apparently an optional translation shift made from the non-finite post-modifier ‘having owed the rest of the world by causing environmental degradation in their industrialization and modernization’ in the ST, demonstrating the textual mediation to emphasise the claim that developed countries are able to take

greater responsibilities for environmental protection.

In Example Eleven, likewise, the accentuated message resides in the embedded relative clause ‘that dates back to several thousand years ago’ in respect to the highly-valued Chinese history, corresponding fairly well to the added pre-modifier ‘proud’. This shift in translation resounds with the prototypical cultural trait discussed in the previous chapter, where China’s strong bond with history and tradition is culturally anchored in the Confucianism-centered philosophical system and is politically entailed by the inherent need for legitimacy building while relying on the ‘proud and glorious’ past achievements. This example is also indicative of a freer rein given to the translators in their mediation of the TT.

5.2.1.2.4 TT Accommodations

It should be noted that the ST also keeps the haranguing style of Jiang’s speeches, which undoubtedly poses challenges for translation. In this case, the TT appears more congruent with the TT textual conventions, as shown in the following examples.

Example Twelve

在战争浩劫中空前觉醒的各国人民，强烈要求掌握自己的命运。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) People of all countries who had achieved unprecedented awakening through *the war catastrophe* demanded control of their own destiny.

(OT) People of all countries who had achieved unprecedented awakening through *the baptism of war* demanded control of their own destiny. (Jiang 1995c)

Example Thirteen

战后五十年间，世界发生翻天覆地的变化。时而波澜壮阔，令人振奋；时而风雨如磐，惊心动魄。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) Over 50 years after World War II, our world has undergone earth-shaking changes *which are urging forward with tremendous momentum and inspiring*

sometimes and with wind and rain sweeping through and soul-stirring sometimes.

(OT) Over 50 years after World War II, our world has undergone earth-shaking changes which are *sweeping and inspiring at times and stormy and disquieting at others*. (Jiang 1995c)

These two examples have expressly displayed the translators' stance to project a possible receptive front and construct the TT with that projection in mind. In Example Twelve, the translators deliberately replaced a common term 'war catastrophe' known to both linguistic communities with a more culturally salient one 'the baptism of war' based on the unique religious values this term conveys to the western audience. This reframing strategy somewhat reveals the emerging move towards accommodating target cultural schemata in political translation.

Regarding the treatment of the clustered four-character phrases, the translation strategy adopted in Example Thirteen is conjoined with that in Deng's speech in that the richly meaningful linguistic units in Chinese are rendered as single verbs under the guise of a fluent and congruent style in English which should be comfortably communicated to the target audience. It thus can be inferred that the principle of the communicative value and acceptability standard of the TT is well-established in the translation procedures of political speeches.

5.2.1.3 Hu's Speech

The third speech was delivered by Hu in 2005 at the ceremony of marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UN. Given the further development of China's economy and national strength and Hu's personal low-key style, this speech has been glossed in a down-to-earth manner and is aimed at calling for harmony and common prosperity. The specific features with respect to its translation will be demonstrated below.

5.2.1.3.1 Normalisation

Example Fourteen

要和平、促发展、谋合作是时代的主旋律。(Hu 2005a)

(LT) *Desiring peace, promoting development and seeking cooperation* are the main theme of the times.

(OT) *Peace, cooperation and development* represent the main theme of our times. (Hu 2005c)

This sentence contributes to the rhetorical construction of the common ground that Hu always pledges to forge at the UN platform. The most notable translation shift resides in the normalisation strategy adopted in the TT. It is recognised by the fact that the verbal forms in the ST are altered into the nominal ones (Thompson 2004: 225). In this way the nouns are empowered to express the process meaning which has already become an embedded truth preempted into the speaker's proposition reflected in the TT. Through the restructuring of translation, the translators have rendered these common values of mankind as more certain and privileged. Furthermore, the added interpersonal marker 'our' in the translation deserves some attention in that the inclusive pronoun is conducive to drawing the audience closer. This form of textual manipulation through translation suggests a move to establish the context models shared by different groups of audience by assimilating the group knowledge in the ST construction into the target group knowledge to achieve consensus at the international setting as a result of power play.

5.2.1.3.2 TT Accommodations

Example Fifteen

……南北差距进一步拉大，……。 (Hu 2005a)

(LT) The gap between the North and South continues to widen.

(OT) The *wealth* gap between the North and South continues to widen. (Hu 2005c)

This example is made up of a small clause and the translation shift involved is also a small one, but it is considered that the shift is in no way insignificant and common in the preceding speeches, therefore cannot be ignored. In the ST ‘南北差距(nanbei chaju/the gap between the North and South)’ is a political jargon widely used in international relations. It is established that a socio-economic division exists between the developed countries, known collectively as ‘the North’, and the developing countries, or ‘the South’. It in effect would make more sense to consider the naming as a geo-political concept rather than a pure geographical one.

It can be easily noted that the TT was inserted with an explanatory modifier ‘wealth’ to make explicit the actual meaning of this phrase. These small steps made by the translators signify an emerging strategy in political translation that puts more emphasis on target audience reception. Although one could argue that the audiences at the UN platform are supposed to be well politically informed and that the necessity of this strategy would be at issue, there is a higher possibility that the translation was produced with the knowledge structures of audiences of a wider scope in mind which may include lay people with various backgrounds. Therefore the small shift could indicate the tendency towards a much higher degree of subtlety and deliberation in the process of translating political discourse.

Example Sixteen

……许多国家人民的基本生存甚至生命安全得不到保障，……。 (Hu 2005a)

(LT) The basic right to survival and even safety *cannot be guaranteed* to people in many countries.

(OT) People in many countries *are still being denied of the right to* subsistence and even survival. (Hu 2005c)

Example Seventeen

改革涉及各国利益，应该充分协商，在达成广泛共识的基础上作出决定。 (Hu 2005a)

(LT) With the interests of many countries at stake, the reform should allow full consultations before any decision is made on the basis of *a broad consensus*.

(OT) With the interests of many countries at stake, the reform should allow full consultations before any decision is made on the basis of the *broadest* consensus. (Hu 2005c)

Example Eighteen

我们应该通过合理、必要的改革，维护联合国权威，提高联合国效率，更好地发挥联合国作用，增强联合国应对新威胁新挑战的能力。 (Hu 2005a)

(LT) We should carry out rational and necessary reform to maintain the authority of the United Nations, improve its efficacy, give a better scope to its role, and enhance its capacity to take on new threats and new challenges.

(OT) We should carry out rational and necessary reform to maintain the authority of the United Nations, improve its efficacy and give a better scope to its role *so that* it will be better *empowered* to take on new threats and new challenges. (Hu 2005c)

These three examples at issue can be put together based on the functional homogeneity that the translators are given freer rein to rework the ST in a principled way for a certain anticipated effect. Example Sixteen proposes one of the prevailing problems enumerated by Hu in order to appeal for a common recognition of the advocated theme of peace and development. With this concern in mind, the translators seem to go further mainly through a semantic shift from ‘得不到保障(de bu dao baozhang/cannot be guaranteed)’ in the ST to ‘are still being denied’ in the TT, literally the extreme end in the semantic spectrum. This shift can be read as the cross-lingual mediation to accelerate the degree of the people’s deteriorating conditions, thus giving more weighting to the speaker’s proposal. It is also noted that the reformulation of the nominal group ‘基本生存甚至生命安全(jiben shengcun shenzhi shengming anquan/the basic right to survival and even safety)’ in the ST to ‘the right to subsistence and even survival’ appears to be better ordered and make more sense in terms of experiential values it intentionally conveys to the audience.

Example Eighteen is situated in a series of measures that Hu proposed to improve the UN functions. Due to the paratactic nature of the Chinese language, it is not infrequent that a sentence as such is constructed by a number of verbal sequences piling up without any conjunctive links in between. The paratactic verbal groups play a significant role in the construction of event lines that need to be urgently addressed, which partly underscores the persuasiveness of the Chinese political speeches. However, the translators tend to go beyond the source linguistic norms and introduce a restructuring strategy marked out by an extended hypotactic chain marker ‘so that’. In this sense, a causal-conditional relation is set up with the preceding verbal sequences and the construction is reframed within the target language conventions in which a logico-semantic tie is highly valued in the cognitive procession of texts.

Meanwhile, the socio-political significance of this textual variation deserves some attention. The purpose-oriented clause led by ‘so that’ has brought ‘it (the UN)’ to the thematic position, making explicit the translators’ focus on the ultimate wellbeing of the UN. The predicate ‘will be empowered’ appears to further strengthen the focal point of the argument by giving rise to an overtone that the present UN is far from being powerful for obvious reasons and that the proposed measures for reform would naturally fit in.

Therefore the above examples show that the translators seem to take more control and liberty in transforming the STs to fit into the mental constructs of the target audience and achieve the communicative effect that the political speech in the new era is aimed at.

Example Nineteen

安理会作为联合国维护世界和平与安全的专门机构, 其维护世界和平与安全的权威必须得到切实维护。(Hu 2005a)

(LT) As the special agency of the UN responsible for maintaining world peace and

security, the Security Council must be given the authority to *maintain world peace and security*.

(OT) As the special agency of the UN responsible for maintaining world peace and security, the Security Council must be given the authority to *carry out its mandate*.

(Hu 2005c)

Repetition is an important rhetorical strategy in political communication. The above example is an exemplary illustration of the use of repetition in political discourse. The re-occurrence of the same wording ‘维护世界和平与安全 (weihu shijie heping yu anquan/maintain world peace and security)’ can be viewed as an explicit rhetorical emphasis on the message that the speaker intends to get across to the audience. The Chinese authority is in particular favour of this strategy in their linguistic engineering and thought management. China, as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, is acutely aware of the privileges generated by this position in the power balance of the international arena. As a result there is no wonder that it holds firmly to this claim. In view of the translational reformulation in the TT, the repeated phrase has been reworded into ‘carry out its mandate’, giving no trace of repetition while still sustaining the textual coherence. It is not difficult to detect the translators’ cultural awareness to produce a congruent TT because it would be more acceptable in the target community to keep to the minimum the repetition as such.

5.2.2 Parallel Analysis

Parallel Example One

这种状况用中国的话说，就是“天下大乱”。这个“乱”是当代世界各种基本矛盾日益激化的表现⁸。(Deng 1974a)

(OT) The situation is one of “great disorder under heaven,” as we Chinese put it. This “disorder” is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. (Deng 1974b)

⁸ This parallel example aims to illustrate the translation of classic Chinese in which few translation shifts are involved, therefore only the official TTs are provided.

中国古代思想家孔子说：“四十而不惑，五十而知天命”。(Jiang 1995a)

(OT) Confucius, China's ancient philosopher, says: "at 40 I had no more doubts and at 50, I knew the will of Heaven." (Jiang 1995c)

联合国体现了世界各国人民“欲免后世再遭今代人类两度身历惨不堪言之战祸”、“彼此以善邻之道，和睦相处”的崇高精神，……。 (Hu 2005a)

(OT) It (The UN) embodies the lofty spirit of the world's people to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought about untold sorrow to mankind' and to 'live together in peace with one another as good neighbors'. (Hu 2005c)

This set of ST examples features the use of quoted classical Chinese verses. It is well known that classical Chinese language is characterised by the fusion of condensed form and rich connotative meaning. The employment of classical Chinese in modern discourse is accordingly a popular rhetorical practice in public discursive construction. Chinese politicians prefer to quote in their speeches the ancient aphorisms or poetic lines pertinent to the expression of their ideas, enabling their thoughts and feelings to be carried over through the flow of the elegant classical verses. Moreover, the rhetorical engagement with the past not only evokes a nationalistic sentimentality towards the shared cultural heritage, but adds more credits to the speaker's charisma and legitimacy.

This unique feature of Chinese political discourse, however, goes largely under-translated into English in that the style of the classical Chinese is rendered by means of an explanatory decoding and thus assimilated into the homogeneous representations of the modern discourse. This accounts for the omission of the literal translation given the implausibility incurred by translation. The presence of the classical rhetoric in the TTs can only be signaled by quotation marks and in most cases the sources mentioned by the speaker. It is worth noting that in Hu's speech the

quoted wordings, although cast in classical style, actually stem from the Chinese version of the 1945 UN Charter which was rendered into the style of quasi-classical Chinese. This example in part manifests itself as a translational instance of resorting to traditional Chinese values in line with the long-standing practice of assimilating classical Chinese into the modern Chinese political discourse in the source context. It marks off the attempt to disseminate the ST group knowledge embedded in the source culture in terms of the textual conventions through the power-mediated intercultural act of translation.

Parallel Example Two

无数事实 *说明*, 一切过高估计两霸力量, 过低估计人民力量的观点, 都是没有根据的。(Deng 1974a)

(LT) Innumerable facts *show* that all views that overestimate the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimate the strength of the people are groundless.

(OT) Innumerable facts *show* that all views that overestimate the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimate the strength of the people are groundless. (Deng 1974b)

世界的发展变化昭示人们: 人民是历史的创造者和推动者。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) *The development of the world tells us* that people make history and push it forward.

(OT) *What the changing world tells us is that* people make history and push it forward. (Jiang 1995c)

历史昭示我们, 在机遇和挑战并存的重要历史时期, 只有世界所有国家紧密团结起来, 共同把握机遇、应对挑战, 才能为人类社会发展创造光明的未来, 才能真正建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。(Hu 2005a)

(LT) *History tells us that* at the important historic period when both opportunities and challenges are presented, countries can only create a bright future for mankind and truly put in place a harmonious world with lasting peace and common prosperity

when they rally closely together to seize the opportunities and take on the challenges. (OT) *History has been a wonderful guide.* At the important historic period when both opportunities and challenges are presented, countries can only create a bright future for mankind and truly put in place a harmonious world with lasting peace and common prosperity when they rally closely together to seize the opportunities and take on the challenges. (Hu 2005c)

Functionally, this set of sentences serves to initiate the speakers' comments on the preceding propositions and relate to the unfolding text, fulfilled by the markers '说明 (shuo ming/show)' and '昭示 (zhao shi/tell)'. It is of interest to note that the speakers' textual manipulation is tactically concealed under the guise of nonhuman subjects '无数事实 (wushu shishi/innumerable facts)', '世界的发展变化 (shijie de fazhan bianhua/the development of the world)' and '历史 (li shi/history)'. Given the consistent evidence from the three speeches, it seems that this technique is favoured and endorsed in the discursive production of Chinese political discourse.

With respect to the TTs, it is not difficult to find that the shifts are becoming increasingly salient as time goes by. Specifically, in the TT of Deng's speech, the TT goes hand in hand with the ST at every level of the textual reproduction as echoed by many textual evidences during that period.

Whereas in Jiang's TT, a similar ST structure was rendered into a relatively marked syntactic construction led by a sub-clause 'what the changing world tells us' at the thematic position. As discussed in the previous section, this structure, named as 'thematic equative' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 69; Thompson 2004: 149), enables the message to be structured in whatever way the text producer wants and adds a semantic component of exclusiveness. In this specific context, it forcefully highlights the subsequent message that people are the most important factor in social development. Stemming from the Marxist-Lennist doctrine, this viewpoint is favourably incorporated into the predominant CPC ideology which always puts

considerable rhetoric emphasis on the mass or ‘people’ in the continuous effort to consolidate its legitimacy. In the international context, the political connotation is to set up a solitary developing-world front in defiance against the dominant powers. Therefore the assertive tone enacted by translation is indicative of greater autonomy at the translators’ disposal in Jiang’s time.

In Hu’s TT, the translators are motivated to make a bolder variation by reformulating the similar wording ‘历史昭示我们 (lishi zhaoshi women/history tells us)’ into a clause ‘History has been a wonderful guide’. This is an unusual step in translating Chinese political speeches when the role of translators’ mediation is made explicit to such a conspicuous degree. Apart from the syntactic variation, the separated clause appears to be more freely worded and take on a conversational style, partly breaking away from the linguistic rigidity and the patronising tone implied in the banal expression of the ST. In this sense, it can be tentatively assumed that translation in Hu’s time takes more control in mediating the interpersonal dimension of the STs and is proactively involved in the reconstruction of the image of the speaker.

5.2.3 Summary

In a similar fashion, the instances presented above are further synthesised into the functional groups in the table below.

	Deng	Jiang	Hu
Mitigating effect	2	1	
Metaphorisation	2		
Formalisation/Normalisation	2		1
TT accommodations	2	3	6
neutralisation		2	
legitimation	1	4	3

Table 2 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Diplomatic Speeches

In sum, the functional categories that have emerged amongst this set of speeches are presented in the above table. The translation of Deng's speech exhibits some level of distinctiveness partly influenced by Deng's trenchant speech style and the strongly-worded ST which was produced from the intense urge to take a proactive stance amid the polarised international situations. The first category 'mitigating effect' demonstrates a form of textual manipulation to downplay the emotionally-charged wordings to mitigate the ideological conflicts and enhance the acceptability in the target community, demonstrating a continuous attempt to assimilate into the knowledge structures of the target culture with respect to textual comprehension.

It is of great interest to note the translators' attempt to diversify the TT styles by metaphorising the unmarked expressions of the ST as classified in the second category. It could be viewed as another dimension of the 'mitigating' function regarding the potential role of reinvigorating the banal language of translated political speeches in a common sense. Meanwhile, the use of this rhetorical device signifies the translators' intention to lubricate the potential friction of political communication at the debut of Deng's international presence and in part enhance the interactive dimension of Chinese political speeches.

Formalisation is a salient characteristic of this set of data. The translations tend to take on a uniformity of formal style stripped of the stylistic heterogeneity in the STs. Specifically, Deng's original speech is interspersed with trenchant and colloquial expressions which are formalised or further normalised into formal wordings. It plays a part in projecting a rational and positive representation of China as well as reinforcing the authoritative stance at the international forum, but to the cost of the spontaneity and wittiness of the speakers' style. It is generally viewed as a well-established practice in political translation underlined by the common need to 'play safe' at the diplomatic front. It indicates a source-oriented stance to disseminate the authorised dominative knowledge to the target audiences to the cost of the

communicative and interactive dimension of political speeches.

In the category of ‘TT accommodations’, parallels can be found as in the previous set of data in terms of the growing tendency of accommodating target expectations in political translation. Moreover, fresh aspects have emerged to add to the diversity of this category. For instance, the inclusive pronoun ‘our’ is added to the TTs as an interpersonal marker intended to draw the audience closer. This move demonstrates the translators’ effort to fit into the mental constructs of the target audience to achieve a better communicative effect.

In a similar manner, the category of ‘neutralisation’ deals with the textual manipulation to downplay the emotive language in the ST. It merits attention that this phenomenon occurs mainly in the translation of Jiang’s speech. This is in part linked to Jiang’s consistent haranguing speech style which may need to be toned down and appear sound and rational before the target audience. This type of translational manipulation tends to suggest a move to establish the context models shared by different groups of audience by transforming the group knowledge in the ST construction into the target group knowledge as a result of the macro-level power struggle to achieve consensus at the international setting.

The category of legitimation in this section is mainly manifested in the form of ‘emphatic augmentation’ which refers to the attempt to increase the persuasive weighting of the speech by actively engaging in the emotive interaction with the audience. Meanwhile, the translators tend to align more with the stance taken by the ST producers, as above illustrated in Deng’s TT where the predicate ‘是 (shi/be)’ is shifted to ‘make up’ in Example Four. This subtle textual intervention suggests the translators’ intention to stay in tune with the authorised ideo-political stance of the ST community to act discursively in opposition to the then ‘superpowers’.

The feature of ‘legitimation’ is also demonstrated in the syntactic restructuring of the

ST elements or the added modifiers into the textual segments to be highlighted. This move indicates an ideologically-laden strategy to project a positive receptive front amongst the target community and strengthen the legitimacy building in a principled way. In this regard, the translation shifts manifested at this point could indicate the tendency towards a much higher degree of subtlety and deliberation in the process of translating political discourse.

5.3 CPC Party Reports

This set of political speeches comprises the excerpts of three reports delivered at the three National Congresses of the CPC in 1987, 1997 and 2007 respectively. These texts are written to be delivered for obvious reasons and thereby are discursively characterised by a formal written style. The texts are packed with a high density of ‘action verbs’, i.e. verbs of material process, and this feature is highlighted due to the paratactic nature of Chinese and its syntactical tendency towards active constructions. This nevertheless creates on the face of it the image of competent governance with notable achievements, fitting well into the genre of the Party reports.

Another salient feature of the Party reports is the use of the common ‘promotional device’ of numbered points or quasi-bullet points in formality. This formal feature seems to suggest a static status of readership by setting readers in a mere role of listening and being informed of. Thus the dialogical function of the speech is weakened despite the fact that the device may seem reader-friendly to some extent, however, the authority on the part of the speaker is firmly established and the non-negotiable feature of this type of political speeches is implicitly presented.

5.3.1 General Features of the Three Speeches and Their Translations

5.3.1.1 The 1987 Speech

Apart from the general discursive analysis of these speeches as a whole, there are also some specific features in each speech. The 1987 speech shows a higher frequency of ritualised and clichéd expressions, for instance, 欣欣向荣 (xin xin xiang rong/flourishing), 伟大、光荣、正确的党 (weida guangrong zhengque de dang/great, glorious and correct party). These ideologically marked phrases, traced back to the linguistic indoctrination in Mao’s time, continue to prevail in the discursive practices of both public and private spheres after his demise, but their renderings into English

are not indicative of as much social significations as in the ST, as demonstrated below.

5.3.1.1.1 Legitimation

The first four examples demonstrate the manipulation of interpersonal elements from the perspective of translation in terms of heightening or lessening the textual interactive dimension in the original speech for specific purposes to sustain the CPC legitimacy. Example Five concerns the amplification strategy with respect to adding the circumstantial component to impart to the target setting a positive self-representation of China's political governance.

Example One

随着生产的发展，长期困扰我们的一些严重社会经济问题 *开始得到解决*，……
(Zhao 1987a)

(LT) With the growth of production certain serious social and economic problems which had long plagued us *have started to be solved*.

(OT) With the growth of production *we have started to solve*, ..., certain serious social and economic problems which had long plagued us. (Zhao 1987b)

Example Two

这是在坚持四项基本原则和推进建设与改革的基础上，妥善处理各种社会矛盾，及时排除各种“左”的和“右”的干扰 *的结果*。(Zhao 1987a)

(LT) *This is the outcome of* properly handling social contradictions and promptly eliminating different forms of interference from both the Left and the Right, while upholding the four cardinal principles and promoting reform and economic development.

(OT) We *have achieved this* by properly handling social contradictions and promptly eliminating different forms of interference from both the Left and the Right, while upholding the four cardinal principles and promoting reform and economic development. (Zhao 1987b)

Example Three

我们在领导工作中还有不少失误。(Zhao 1987a)

(LT) *We still have* not a few failings in the work or leadership.

(OT) *There are* not a few failings in our work or leadership. (Zhao 1987b)

These three examples demonstrate the manipulation of interpersonal elements from the perspective of translation. In Example One, the sentence is literally constituted by a passive construction as indicated by the salient element ‘得到解决 (dedao jie jue/be solved)’, while in the TT it is transformed into an active process with a plural pronoun taking up the thematic potential. The involvement of the human agent as the actual ‘doer’ of the process helps to project a pro-active image of the Chinese authorities capable of resolving long-standing social problems for their people. This example manifests itself as the textual manipulation actualised in translation. The transformation from the passive to active construction initiated by the interpersonal marker ‘we’ seems to index the process of shifting the dogmatic Chinese political discourse towards a conversational and interpersonal style of public discourse.

By a similar token, the translators deliberately involved an actor ‘we’ at the thematic initial position in the TT of Example Two. In this way, the identifying relational process in the ST shown by ‘这是……的结果 (zheshi de jie guo/This is the outcome of...)’ has been rendered into a material process marked as ‘We have achieved this’. Therefore the static ST process is transformed into a dynamic construction of the ‘lifeworld’ components. In conjunction with the previous example, this instance of textual reconstruction through translation is adduced to indicate the translators’ attempt to produce a positive self image in line with van Dijk’s basic notion of universal positive self-representations in the discourse management initiated by powerful groups.

Despite the similar strategy employed in terms of the interpersonal dimension, Example Three diverges from the previous two in that it chooses to reduce this

dimension by the use of the heavily impersonal existential process in the TT. With the absence of any actual human participants in this construction, the overt representation of ‘we’ as the doer of the failings in the ST is totally removed in the translated discourse. In this sense, the translators appear to be intentionally renouncing the opportunity to represent the human agents involved in the process. This move seems to be basically motivated by the sanctioned norm to mitigate the adverse effect on the positive self image that the translators have been dedicated to constructing given the source-context-induced nature of Chinese political translation.

The above examples have suggested that the structural translation shifts in terms of the interpersonal dimension largely reflect the underlying purposes in line with the pre-set ideological agenda. Put in the broader socio-political context, China was in the face of severe challenges regarding the stagnant economy and stirring social unrest in the middle of the economic reform. Against this backdrop, discursive construction in the domain of translation needs to be strengthened to meet the ideological demand for the continued leadership of the CPC. Therefore translation appears to emphasise the positive self-presentations when it comes to the achievements done in the past as demonstrated in the first two examples, and de-emphasise the negative self-presentations in terms of the failings in the CPC’s governance. This form of textual manipulation enacted by translation is primarily aimed at increasing the political party’s popularity in the intercultural communication.

Example Four

我们在国际上的朋友更多了。 (Zhao 1987a)

(LT) The friends we have internationally are more.

(OT) We now have more friends in the world *than ever*. (Zhao 1987b)

As presented in this example, the 1987 speech gives some traces of a hybrid discourse. For instance, in contrast to the formal and impersonal discourse running through the account of the achievements scored by the country since the Third Plenary Session of

the 11th Central Committee, a small stretch of text draws attention in terms of a heterogeneous type of interpersonal discourse interspersed in the formally-registered discourse. The shift to a more interpersonal discourse, however, is a marked feature in the Chinese CPC report as the Chinese political language is traditionally characterised by the static and dogmatic style. More strikingly, the TT gives more salience by adding the time adverbial and the suffix of the comparative construction at the end of the sentence. This translation shift can be construed as the discursive manipulation for the growing international recognition by the emotional appeal given the time when China was at the very initial stage of the economic reform.

Example Five

还有部分地区，温饱问题尚未完全解决，但也有了改善。(Zhao 1987a)

(LT) There are still certain areas where the problem of food and clothing has not yet been solved, but there has been some improvement.

(OT) There are still certain areas where the problem of food and clothing has not yet been solved, but *even in those places* there has been some improvement. (Zhao 1987b)

By adding the circumstantial element ‘even in those places, the TT sentence appears more cohesive with the occurrence of the anaphoric marker ‘those’, hence a greater degree of coherence is set up to facilitate the comprehension of the translated discourse. Meanwhile, with the emotionally-laden adverb ‘even’ leading the phrase, the TT is semantically reconstructed to highlight the fact that improvement has been made in the abovementioned areas. In this respect, this example converges with the previous case in that the flow of translated discourse is steered towards the ideological command to set up a positive self-representation of China’s political governance.

5.3.1.2 The 1997 Speech

5.3.1.2.1 Parallelism

Likewise, some level of clichéd expressions and intertextuality can be traced in the 1997 speech. What is noteworthy also lies in the more assertive and emotive style manifested in the pattern of parallelism, the heavily-laden modifying elements. Regarding the cases of parallelism and modification, some instances are selected for illustration.

Example Six

旗帜就是方向，旗帜就是形象。(Jiang 1997a)

(LT) The banner is direction. The banner is image.

(OT) The banner represents our orientation and image. (Jiang 1997b)

Example Seven

一九九二年邓小平南方谈话和党的十四大以来的五年，是很不寻常的五年。这是我们党领导全国各族人民，经受住八十年代末、九十年代初国际国内政治风波的严峻考验，继续沿着有中国特色社会主义道路阔步前进的五年；是进一步解放思想，开拓进取，改革开放和现代化建设事业进入新阶段的五年；是在建立社会主义市场经济体制的深刻变革进程中，妥善处理改革、发展、稳定的关系，在各个领域取得巨大成就的五年；也是在世界格局的剧烈变动中，我国国际地位显著提高的五年。(Jiang 1997a)

(LT) The five years since Deng Xiaoping gave talks during his visit to the south and the Party held its 14th National Congress in 1992 have been extraordinary 5 years. *These are the five years* when our Party led the people of all nationalities in our country in standing up to the severe tests of political disturbances at home and abroad in the late 1980s and early 1990s and continuing to make big strides on the road to socialism with Chinese characteristics. *These are the five years* when we have further emancipated our minds and made pioneering efforts, bringing the reform, opening up and the modernization drive to a new stage of development. *These are the five years* when we have, in the course of profound changes in establishing a socialist market economy, properly handled the relations between reform, development and stability and scored great achievements in various fields. *Also in the five years*, China's

international standing has risen notably in the midst of radical changes in the pattern of the world.

(OT) The five years since Deng Xiaoping gave talks during his visit to the south and the Party held its 14th National Congress in 1992 have been no ordinary years. *In the five years*, our Party led the people of all nationalities in our country in standing up to the severe tests of political disturbances at home and abroad in the late 1980s and early 1990s and continuing to make big strides on the road to socialism with Chinese characteristics. *In the five years*, we have further emancipated our minds and made pioneering efforts, bringing the reform, opening up and the modernization drive to a new stage of development. *In the five years*, we have, in the course of profound changes in establishing a socialist market economy, properly handled the relations between reform, development and stability and scored great achievements in various fields. *In the five years*, China's international standing has risen notably in the midst of radical changes in the pattern of the world. (Jiang 1997b)

Parallelism reflects the discursive development in a more authoritative and confident direction in Jiang's time. The TT is reconstructed in pace with the ST in an endeavour to maintain this feature against the grammatical constraints of the target language. The heavily laden attributive components, however, can never be fully rendered in the TT. In this sense, the forceful but neat style displayed by the ST parallel construction is somewhat undertranslated in the TT.

5.3.1.3 The 2007 Speech

The 2007 speech is condensed and assertive in style, and homogeneous in discourse. In other words, it is largely in absence of the mix of discourse types, which appears to run counter to Fairclough's claim of the tendency of 'conversationalisation' in discourse development. This phenomenon may be interpreted in the Chinese context in which the dialogical dimension can be overridden by the salient features of this

specific genre which is discursively underpinned by the increasing assertive and authoritative tone prevailing in the domestic and international spheres.

5.3.1.3.1 De-metaphorisation

De-metaphorisation refers to the fact that most metaphorical expressions go undertranslated in the TT. In other words, the TT opts for an explanatory and thus relatively conservative strategy in this respect.

Example Eight

党内生活向制度化、规范化迈出新的步伐。(Hu 2007a)

(LT) *New strides were made* in institutionalizing and standardizing inner-Party activities.

(OT) *Progress was made* in institutionalising and standardising inner-Party activities.
(Hu 2007b)

Example Nine

我国的社会生产力、综合国力和人民生活水平又上了一个新的台阶。(Hu 2007a)

(LT) Our country's productive forces, the overall national strength and the people's living standards *have once more been lifted to a new stair*.

(OT) *Major advancements have been made* in developing our productive forces, increasing the overall national strength and improving the people's living standards.
(Hu 2007b)

Example Ten

我们党具有在国内外复杂形势下驾驭局势的能力。(Hu 2007a)

(LT) Our Party possesses the ability to *rein in* the situation under the complex domestic and international conditions.

(OT) Our Party is capable of *handling* complex domestic and international situations.
(Hu 2007b)

The above three examples are pertaining to the metaphorical use of language in the source and target political discourse. Of central interest is to investigate the renderings of the metaphors in the TTs. As Examples Eight and Nine show, metaphors of marching and ascending are frequently employed in the Chinese political discourse, injecting a congruently inspirational note into the main theme of this genre. Perhaps due to the congruent use of such metaphors, they are de-metaphorised and assimilated into the down-to-earth experiential representations of the translated discourse. Put specifically, ‘迈出新的步伐 (maichu xin de bufa/New strides were made)’ and ‘上了一个新的台阶 (shang le yige xin de taijie/be lifted to a new stair)’ in the two examples are translated as ‘progress was made’ and ‘major advancements have been made’ respectively. This case seems to reflect a prudent strategy adopted on the part of the translators to focus on the experiential meanings at the expense of the stylistic diversity of the ST.

In a similar vein, Example Ten deals with the de-metaphorisation of the ST expression whereby ‘驾驭 (jiayu/rein in)’ is shifted to ‘handle’ in the TT. The abovementioned prudent strategy seems also viable in this case, but it would be more plausible to take into extra account the cultural frame of the target audience. Due to the prevalent resistance towards the communist regime from the west, the translators are in a better informed position to temper the authoritative tone of the ST expression and opt for a softer and unmarked verb ‘handle’. In this way, the image of the Party might appear more accessible to the target audience and this tactic would be conducive to building up the CPC’s legitimacy in the long run.

5.3.1.3.2 Metaphorisation

Example Eleven

“八五”计划胜利完成。(Hu 2007a)

(LT) The Eighth Five-Year Plan *was successfully completed*.

(OT) The Eighth Five-Year Plan *was crowned with success*. (Hu 2007b)

This example exhibits the reverse operation of metaphors in that the mundane verbal phrase ‘胜利完成 (shengli wancheng/was successfully completed)’ in the ST is metaphorised in the TT into ‘was crowned with success’. Based on the extensive work undertaken by some prominent metaphor scholars (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Zinken 2003), metaphor is crucial to human imagination and understanding because humans can only make immediate sense of what they experience. Furthermore, the image schemata abstracted from the physical world can be reworked to understand a new domain of experience. A salient merit of the metaphorical shift is the revitalising effect it has on the TT. The image schemata abstracted by ‘crown’ functions as a medium to connect individual understanding with the ‘cultural situatedness’ (Zinken 2003) of the metaphor producer. Thus the metaphorical treatment of the ST verb enables the TT audience to capture the immediate socio-cultural experience to understand the portion of text in a more sensible way.

The ‘cultural situatedness’ conceived in the TT production hints at an emboldened step to deviate from the conservative strategy widely adopted in the domain of political translation, heralding an initial attempt to edge towards the target-oriented perspective. There seems to be little denying that this is a great leap forwards in comparison to the stagnant revolutionised style of discourse in the earlier stages of the CPC governance.

5.3.1.3.3 Legitimation

Example Twelve

鸦片战争后，中国成为半殖民地半封建国家。(Hu 2007a)

(LT) After the Opium War, China *became* a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

(OT) After the Opium War of 1840, China *was reduced to* a semi-colonial and

semi-feudal country. (Hu 2007b)

This text segment serves as part of the historical discourse which is a generically integral component of Chinese political speeches. ‘The sensitivity of perceived victimization’ (Renwick & Cao 1999: 112-113) can be retrieved from this selective recount of history, so that to some extent nationalistic sentiments are aroused for the retention of political power. In response to the ST discursive orientation, the TT was further adjusted to serve that purpose. The relational process in the ST signaled by the momentary verb ‘became’ has been shifted to a passive construction led by ‘reduce’ in the TT. Through this textual manipulation, the victimised subject ‘China’ is better highlighted to evoke the victimhood theme in translation. Meanwhile the lexically richer verb ‘reduce’ is better value-attached than ‘become’ in the ST to convey the nationalistic sentiments to the target audience.

5.3.1.3.4 Interpersonalisation

Example Thirteen

回顾这五年的工作，总的看这是改革和发展都比较好的时期。 (Hu 2007a)

(LT) Reviewing the work of the past five years, on the whole this is the period when the reform and development have proceeded satisfactorily.

(OT) Reviewing the work of the past five years, *we can say that* on the whole the reform and development have proceeded satisfactorily during this period. (Hu 2007b)

The main feature of the TT is the insertion of a verbal process clause ‘we can say’, demonstrating a certain level of control over the translated discourse. This inserted element is functioning as a form of clausal assessment in its expression of modality, where the translators base the experiential meaning of the clause on his or her knowledge or assessment. Readers can thus be led to place more credit on the proposition. Meanwhile, the use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ creates a dialogical dimension, adding a certain level of affinity and credibility to the TT.

5.3.2 Parallel Analysis

In terms of the parallel approach to textual analysis widely adopted in this study, some instances have emerged.

Parallel Example One

和平和发展两大主题 (Zhao 1987a)

(LT) two major *themes* of peace and development

(OT) two major *issues* of peace and development (Zhao 1987b)

和平和发展两大主题 (Hu 2007a)

(LT) two major *themes* of peace and development

(OT) two *themes* of peace and development (Hu 2007b)

The different lexical choices become a salient point in this parallel instance. ‘Issue’ seems to indicate the inclination to view the two referents (peace and development) as problems to be dealt with, whereas the use of ‘theme’ gives the hint of a more abstract and general sense and has been ritualised in the conference setting. It is certain that one cannot simply arrive at the conclusion that the present international situation favours the realisation of peace and development to a much greater extent than two decades ago. The lexical discrepancy shows the different ways this proposition has been conceptualised and reconstructed in translation. This discursive tendency points towards a more diplomatic direction of looking at essentially serious issues in political speeches with a view to providing more grounding for harmony and unity in the international sphere by approaching the level of cultural knowledge as shared by the diverse groups of audiences in the intercultural communication.

Parallel Example Two

领导班子和干部队伍建设 (Jiang 1997a)

(LT) construction of leading bodies and cadre *troops*

(OT) Strengthening leading bodies and the *contingent* of cadres (Jiang 1997b)

领导班子和干部队伍建设 (Hu 2007a)

(LT) construction of leading bodies and cadre *troops*

(OT) Strengthening the Party's leading bodies and the *ranks* of its cadres (Hu 2007b)

This parallel example intends to illustrate that the TT has been reoriented towards building up legitimacy through lexical upgrading. What draws attention first is that the nominal groups in the STs are unanimously rendered into the verbal phases. This syntactic transformation conjures up the positive image of the party actively dealing with its problems.

Another striking feature is the lexical shift from 'contingent' to 'ranks'. 'Contingent' retains the original military sense. By relating party building to military construction a more or less dogmatic and rigid thought pattern is reflected in the earlier stage of discourse practice. In comparison, the same ST was rendered differently into 'ranks' in the 2007 speech. Despite the semantic ambiguity, it nevertheless carries the commonplace sense over into the political sphere, identifying the trend of incorporating lifeworld discourse into the public discourse. Thus intertextuality also leaves traces in the translated political discourse, and discourse reconstruction is covertly realised through the translation practice.

However, within the Chinese political context, this move cannot go too far. The word 'cadre' remains unchanged throughout the years, however incongruously conspicuous it seems. 'Cadre' refers to the personnel holding positions in governmental organs and has been used in the times of the former USSR⁹. It is highly ideologically laden in the ST and TT. The retaining of this word can be construed as the deliberate effort to signal the distinctiveness of Chinese politics, irrespective of the wide-ranging

⁹ USSR: Abbreviated for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which existed between 1922 to 1991 and was considered as an exemplified socialist model by the CPC before its collapse.

discursive transformations informed by socio-political changes. This instance reiterates the consistent norm-binding stance to disseminate the authorised source-oriented group knowledge at the international front in line with the orthodox institutional norms.

Parallel Example Three

党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争 (Jiang 1997a)

(LT) the Party's style and clean government construction and anti-corruption struggle

(OT) *improving the Party's work style, building a clean government and fighting corruption* (Jiang 1997b)

党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争 (Hu 2007a)

(LT) the Party's style and clean government construction and anti-corruption struggle

(OT) *improving the Party's style of work, upholding integrity and combating corruption* (Hu 2007b)

As discussed earlier, the structural shift from the normalisations in the STs to the conjunction of action verbs in the TTs is a more or less sustained feature in the translation of this particular political genre, creating the favourable effect of demonstrating its past and ongoing achievements. Another noteworthy point is pertaining to the issue of referent and the contextual outcome it has brought about. In the 1997 speech two referents (Party, Government) have occurred, which suggests that problems are rooted and to be addressed in both the Party and government. Whereas in the 2007 speech, only one referent, the Party, is made explicit, leaving the impression that the Party is totally responsible for all these issues. This textual shift implies that the translators are endeavouring to set up the image of a ruling Party that is more self-conscious and willing to shoulder more responsibilities.

Parallel Example Four

人民得到实惠最多的时期 (Zhao 1987a)

(LT) the period when the people *got the most benefits*

(OT) The people have *obtained greater material benefits* than in any other period.
(Zhao 1987b)

使广大农民从党在农村的各项政策和工作中 *得到实惠* (Jiang 1997a)

(LT) to make the broad masses of the peasants *get benefits from* the various rural policies and the work of the Party

(OT) So that the broad masses of the peasants will truly *benefit from* the various rural policies and the work of the Party. (Jiang 1997b)

我国综合国力大幅提升和人民 *得到更多实惠* (Hu 2007a)

(LT) Our country's comprehensive strength grew considerably and the people *got more benefits*.

(OT) China's overall strength grew considerably and the people enjoyed more *tangible benefits*. (Hu 2007b)

This set of examples has to do with the various renderings about the noun 实惠 (shì huì) which is close to 'benefit' in the ideational meaning, but is more casual and conversational in the interpersonal dimension. This gives more space for translators to act upon it and might account for the stylistic diversity in its translations.

In the first instance, it would make more sense to look at the various verbs that collocate with 实惠 (shì huì/benefit). In the 1987 speech, 'obtain' appears to demonstrate the translators' intent to fit in with the generally formal style of the political report, but this verb conveys the sense of getting the benefits with efforts, which is not likely to be inferred in the co-text. Moreover, the pre-modifier 'material' seems to be made redundant given that 'benefit' would suffice to refer to the material aspect of the benefits. The excessively circumspective manner reflected in the TT of the 1987 speech, therefore, is indicative of the cautious and sometimes rigid approach to projecting the Chinese political discourse in the international front.

In the 1997 speech it is interesting to note the de-emphasising way of translating the word in which it is treated as a verb 'benefit', while the following prepositional

element is emphasised as it occurs at the informationally salient final position of the sentence. In this respect the TT is ideologically invested by involving the role of the Party in enhancing people's living standard. In terms of the stylistic dimension, the TT appears more congruent in the target language and is suggestive of the translators' move to be integrated into the global discourse after 20 years of China's economic reform through this form of discursive reconstruction.

The last instance gives more salience to 'benefits' by adding the adjective attribute 'tangible' to it in an attempt to make it more concrete and close to the original meaning in the ST. It is, therefore, more target-oriented and representative of an outward-looking strategy adopted in the reproduction of the STs into the TTs. What is also marked is that the verb 'enjoy' injects into the public discourse domain a hint of private and interpersonal discourse in tune with the Western style of self-fulfilment. So far a number of instances have pointed to the informed representation of the translated discourse and with the passage of time this tendency is to be more saliently indexed with higher frequency of textual instances as informed by the ongoing socio-political changes in historical movement.

5.3.3 Summary

The instances enumerated in this set of speeches mainly fall onto these categories as illustrated in the table below.

	Deng	Jiang	Hu
Interpersonalisation	2		2
De-metaphorisation			3
Metaphorisation			1
ST distinctiveness	2	1	1
TT accommodations	1	2	1

legitimation	5	4	4
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Table 3 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese CPC Party Reports

The first category ‘interpersonalisation’ involves the textual manipulation in the following respects. Some of the human agents omitted in the ST are specified in the TT as the actual ‘doer’ of the process. Moreover, at some points the ST passivisation is converted to the active construction in the TT initiated by the interpersonal marker ‘we’. These techniques may help project a pro-active image of the Chinese authorities committed to creating the well-being for their people, while indexing the subtle effort to shift the dogmatic Chinese political discourse towards a conversational and interpersonal style of public discourse.

De-metaphorisation denotes the preferred representations of experiential meanings devoid of the original metaphorical expressions. This move seems to reflect a conservative strategy adopted on the part of the translators to place emphasis on the propositional level of socio-political representations embodied in language to the cost of the stylistic diversity of the ST. The intensive use of this strategy in Hu’s TT points to a translational endeavour to underscore Hu’s relatively plain and unadorned speech style, while in some cases it is ideologically driven for positive representations of the dominating social groups.

In contrast, the metaphorical treatment of the ST segment would to some extent enable the TT audience to access the immediate socio-cultural experience, thus facilitating the textual understanding. This phenomenon hints at an emboldened step in the more recent years of the CPC governance to deviate from the conservative strategy, heralding an initial attempt to diverge from the stagnant revolutionised style of discourse in the earlier stages of the CPC governance.

The category of ‘ST distinctiveness’ deals with the sustained use of some political

terms unique to the Chinese political system. It can be construed as the deliberate effort to signal the distinctiveness of Chinese politics against the wide-ranging discursive transformations brought about by socio-political changes. Regarding the case in Deng's TT, some translation shifts indicate the attempt to resort to the emotional appeal in order to gain the growing international recognition which may be seen as a somewhat stilted way in the diplomatic domain distinctive of the very initial stage of China's reform process.

In the category of 'TT accommodations', the evidently higher frequency of instances in Jiang's speeches marks out the translators' attempt to stay in tune with the macro-level social norms in his period of leadership. At a transitional period when China is supposed to further engage with the rest of the world, Jiang is committed to adapting Deng's low-profile international stance to moving China forward to 'gear with the world'. Therefore the translators seem to be in a better informed position to embrace the underlying norms by appealing to the target mental constructs manifested at the micro-level textual mediations.

The category of 'legitimation' mainly involves the consistent effort to reconstruct the TTs in the direction of generating more positive self representations with a view to building up the CPC's legitimacy. To this end, the most effective textual device emerging in this set of data is pertinent to transitivity shifts involving the structural transformation from normalisations and passivisations in the STs to action verbs in conjunction with the highlight of 'doers' in the TTs. In this sense, the image of a responsible and capable political actor is intricately constructed through the textual mediation in translation.

5.4 Government Work Report

This set of political speeches comprises the excerpts of the three reports on the work of government delivered by the three premiers at different sessions of the National People's Congress in 1988, 1999 and 2011 respectively. The government work report shares most of the features with the CPC reports discussed in the previous set of data. For instance, the densely packed 'action verbs' create a sense of an active agent capable of notable achievements; the use of numbered points in outlining the messages gives the sense of the authority and non-negotiability that the text producer intends to cultivate.

One difference between a government work report and CPC report is that the former employs relatively less rhetorical devices to evoke an emotional response from the audience and focuses on the presentation of factual aspects of the work done during the set period. In other words, at this communicative setting where the reports are produced, the top priority is given to the informative function which aims at providing knowledge and delivering information to the audience. Thus the language of the government work report takes on a plain style with metaphoric expressions rarely seen. Moreover, a much higher frequency of figures is displayed to add to the objectivity and impersonalisation of this genre.

5.4.1 General Features of the Three Speeches and Their Translations

5.4.1.1 1988 Speech

5.4.1.1.1 Interpersonalisation

Example One

宏观经济效益的改进，为国民经济逐步走上良性循环创造了有利条件。（Li 1988a)

(LT) The improvement of macro-economic efficiency *created favourable conditions*

to gradually bring the national economy to a 'virtuous circle'.

(OT) The improvement of macro-economic efficiency *created conditions that will help us gradually to bring the economy into a 'virtuous circle'.* (Li 1988b)

Example Two

在经济比较发达的地区和大城市郊区，*种植业和养殖业的适度规模经营有了发展*，开始出现现代农业的集约化经营方式。 (Li 1988a)

(LT) In areas where the economy is relatively developed and in the suburbs of large cities, *farming and breeding industries have been developed on a proper scale*, and a modern intensive agriculture began to emerge.

(OT) In areas where the economy is relatively developed and in the suburbs of large cities, *people grew crops, bred animals and raised fish on a fairly large scale*, and a modern intensive agriculture began to emerge. (Li 1988b)

Example Three

与此同时，我国技术开始进入国际市场，*改变了只从国外引进技术的局面*。(Li 1988a)

(LT) Meanwhile, our country's technology started to enter the international market, *which has changed the situation of solely importing technology from abroad.*

(OT) Meanwhile, China's technology started to enter the international market, *which means that we are no longer restricted to importing technology.* (Li 1988b)

One feature shared by the three ST examples is that no human agents are involved in enumerating the achievements of the government in Deng's reign. This is fairly common in the genre of Chinese political reports where the text producer, on behalf of the speaker, tends to leave an unbiased and objective impression on the audience from a textual perspective. This disposition is partly determined by the primary generic function of informing rather than persuading as demonstrated by the previous set of speeches. In this sense, the interactive dimension of the speeches has been greatly reduced. However, in the TTs, the translators have made explicit effort to activate the

interactive function of the STs by involving human participants in the textual construction.

As marked in bold format, the TTs deviate from the STs in terms of the syntactic structure and interpersonal component of the textual reproduction. In Example One, the object pronoun ‘us’ used in the relative clause modifying the head noun ‘conditions’ indicates that the speaker positions himself as one of recipients who broadly benefit from the favourable economic conditions. The interpersonal tone is further reinforced by the lexical choice of the verb ‘help’ which injects a personalised type of discourse into the official speech event. In Example Two, the nominal phrase in the ST ‘种植业和养殖业 (zhongzhiye he yangzhiye/farming and breeding industries)’ has become a clausal event ‘people grew crops, bred animals and raised fish’. In this way, a banal list of things is turned into a string of vigorous actions. This textual transformation has undoubtedly created a dynamic effect for the TT. In Example Three, the ‘change of the situation of solely importing technology from abroad’ in the ST has been transformed into the personal experience in response to the changing situation, which is expressed as ‘we are no longer restricted to importing technology’. Again this example demonstrates a shift from the mere objective perspective of reporting to the interpersonal interaction with the target audience by generating the context models appealing to the target community.

5.4.1.1.2 Legitimation

Example Four

不断扩大对外开放积极发展对外经济技术交流与合作， *进一步改变了过去的封闭半封闭状态*。(Li 1988a)

(LT) We constantly opened our country wider to the outside world and actively developed economic and technological exchange and co-operation with foreign countries, *further altering the closed or semi-closed status state*.

(OT) We constantly opened our country wider to the outside world and actively

developed economic and technological exchange and co-operation with foreign countries, *putting an end to China's closed or semi-closed status*. (Li 1988b)

Apart from the above interactive dimension where translation shifts are at work, the translational intervention is also embodied at the semantic level. As mentioned before, the translators are motivated to go further through semantic elevation of certain textual elements. In Example Four, the semantic shift occurs when the source verbal phrase ‘进一步改变了过去的封闭半封闭状态 (jinyibu gaibian le guoqu de fengbi banfengbi zhuangtai/further altering the closed or semi-closed status state)’ has been altered as ‘putting an end to China's closed or semi-closed status’. Based on the contextual interpretation, the non-finite clause functions as a positive evaluation of the result of the opening-up policy. Rather than stick to the neutral and slightly hazy verb ‘改变 (gai bian/change)’ in the ST, the translators choose to elevate the meaning along the intended semantic trajectory set by the ST and ultimately reach the end of it, giving rise to the verbal phrase ‘put an end’. This semantic intervention can be read as the translators’ intention to produce a positive influence on the mental constructs of the target audience.

5.4.1.1.3 Semantic Condensation

Semantic condensation refers to the translation shifts involving the avoidance or adaptation of the semantic overlapping which is considered rhetorically appropriate in the original Chinese political discourse.

Example Five

所有这些，给改革和建设事业以至人民生命财产带来了重大损失，*必须引起我们的高度重视，认真加以解决*。(Li 1988a)

(LT) All these (problems), having caused heavy losses to the work of reform and construction and even to people's lives and property, *must deserve our enormous attention and be earnestly addressed*.

(OT) All these problems have caused heavy losses to the work of reform and construction, and some of them have even caused loss of lives and property; they *must be earnestly addressed*. (Li 1988b)

Example Six

只有这样做，社会生产力才能得到进一步解放，现代化事业才能蓬蓬勃勃发展。
(Li 1988a)

(LT) *Only in this way*, can the productive forces be further liberated and the cause of modernization *vigorously developed*.

(OT) *That is the only way* to further liberate the productive forces and to *advance* the modernization programme. (Li 1988b)

The textual discrepancies identified in the source and target texts suggest the tendency towards a semantic condensation in translating the government reports. In Example Five, following the detailed outlining of the pervasive problems in the ongoing economic reform, the speaker gave the brief summarising remarks. Apparently in translation, the verbal phrase ‘引起我们的高度重视 (yinqi women de gaodu zhongshi/deserve our enormous attention)’ is left out preceding the central proposition ‘认真加以解决 (renzhen jiayi jie jue/be earnestly addressed)’. The rationale behind this omission could be that the former would seem redundant given that the realisation of the latter must entail the former. Unlike the textual convention of the source language, such kind of semantic overlapping seems out of place in the target culture. Therefore the avoidance of semantic redundancy would necessarily be taken into account by the translators.

Another exemplification of lexical condensation exists in Example Six. The ST expression ‘蓬蓬勃勃发展 (pengpeng bobo fazhan/vigorously developed)’ may appear wordy at face value, but it is a collocation typically in use in the early period of the CPC discourse, tinted with the motivational style sanctioned in Mao’s era. The TT choice of ‘advance’ seems lexically condensed in a way that the ideological slant

has been largely eliminated. This shift can be seen as the translators' attempt to overcome the ideological barrier between the source and target communities and tailor the TT to the context models envisaged for the target audience.

What equally captures attention in this example would be the syntactic variation in the TT. Although both the ST and TT seek to underline the sentential component of 'this way', it is accorded core salience in the TT through the syntactic shift into an identifying relational process. In other words, 'the only way' takes up the informationally salient position as the identified item which anaphorically refers to the speaker's call for 'emancipation of minds'. This textual manipulation through translation has tacitly corresponded to the recurring ideological norm of the CPC in its discursive justification of the capitalist-oriented economic reform within the socialist polity. It almost goes without saying that the TT construction adds to the intended assertive tone in the discursive reconstruction through translation.

5.4.1.1.4 Explication

The explication strategy exemplifies the translators' consistent awareness of the target cognitive and cultural frames by explicating the fuzzy or taken-for-granted political terminologies or forging explicit inter-sentential links in the translated discourse.

Example Seven

各级干部特别是领导干部肩负着领导改革的历史重任, *必须在改革中走在前列率领群众前进*。(Li 1988a)

(LT) Cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, shoulder the historic mission of *leading the reform* and must stand in the vanguard and lead the masses forward.

(OT) *To ensure the success of reform*, which is their historic mission, cadres at all levels, leading cadres in particular, must stand in the vanguard and lead the masses forward. (Li 1988b)

Example Eight

正确处理建设和改革中 *目标和步骤之间的关系*, 保证建设和改革的顺利发展。(Li 1988a)

(LT) We should correctly handle *the relations between objectives and steps* in construction and reform to ensure the smooth progress of construction and reform.

(OT) To ensure the smooth progress of construction and reform, we must correctly handle *the relations between their objectives and the steps to be taken to achieve those objectives*. (Li 1988b)

Example Nine

通过普及法律知识, *人民群众的法制观念和公民意识*逐步增强。(Li 1988a)

(LT) *Thanks to the dissemination of the knowledge of the law, the masses' awareness of the law and citizenship* has been gradually increased.

(OT) *Thanks to the propagation of knowledge of the law, the people* have gradually increased their awareness of the legal system and their understanding of the obligations of citizens. (Li 1988b)

Text comprehension is dependent on an associative network of knowledge and experience between source and target audiences (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 59). In many cases, audiences across cultures do not share mutual knowledge, therefore translators may have to reproduce the concepts or notions in the TT by adding some elements to facilitate comprehension. In Example Seven, the common political jargon in Chinese political discourse ‘领导改革 (lingdao gaige/lead the reform)’ has been made semantically explicit in the TT as ‘ensure the success of the reform’. This shift is primarily aimed at clarifying the fuzziness of this political collocation that may lead to confusion amongst the TT audience.

By a similar token, the explanatory approach in Example Eight to rendering the term ‘steps’ forges a link with the paired one ‘objectives’, hence enhances the level of coherence and adaptability of the TT.

In Example Nine, a similar explanatory approach in translation is adopted to clarify the meaning of ‘the awareness of citizenship’ in the TT as ‘understanding of the obligations of citizens’. However, the intention is slightly different in that the purpose seems to have changed from ‘appealing to the audience’ in most of the previous examples to ‘informing the audience about a foreign culture’. In this case, the translators seem well aware of the drastic difference of the notion of citizenship and take the initiative to inform the TT audience with this ideological ‘export’. In a word, despite the similar strategy taken in Examples Eight and Nine, the former is primarily target-oriented and the latter source-oriented.

Apart from the above discussion of the amplification strategy, there is a point in Example Nine that could not go without notice. The rendering of ‘普及法律知识 (puji falv zhishi/dissemination of the knowledge of the law)’ into ‘propagation of knowledge of the law’ is impaired due to the pejorative connotation that ‘propagation’ conveys. According to the informants of this study, this word ‘propagation’ gradually diminished in Chinese political translation since the early 1990s. This instance clearly demonstrates the fact that the act of translation was evidently less informed in the initial stage of China’s opening-up process.

5.4.1.2 The 1999 Speech

5.4.1.2.1 Explication

Example Ten

大灾之年，农业仍然获得了好收成。(Zhu 1999a)

(LT) *In the year of natural calamities*, harvests were still good.

(OT) *Despite these major calamities*, harvests were *generally* good. (Zhu 1999b)

This sentence serves as a transitional remark after the extensive account of the calamitous flood that hit China in the previous year. This textual instance reflects one

of the typical motivation strategies of Chinese political speeches, which is the positive construction of adverse events in an effort to boost the morale of the audience and foster a common ground. With this in mind, the translator reworks the foregrounded temporal phrase ‘大灾之年 (da zai zhi nian/in the year of natural calamities)’ into a concessional circumstantial element ‘despite these major calamities’, so that more attitudinal values have been attached to the TT clause to make the ensuing positive representation better stand out. It is also noteworthy that through the anaphoric deixis ‘these’ the reworked TT phrase forges a cohesive link with the preceding text, thus enhancing the coherence of the translated discourse.

What captures further attention is that the TT adds a sense of fuzziness as frequently seen in political discourse through the insertion of the hedge ‘generally’. The textual intervention tentatively suggests the tendency towards maturity in Chinese political translation in that the degree of credibility and persuasion that a political speech is after has been tacitly enhanced.

Example Eleven

过去的一年我们能够取得这样大的成绩主要是由于以江泽民同志为核心的党中央的坚强领导及时果断地作出了一系列正确决策；……。 (Zhu 1999a)

(LT) The notable achievements of the past years *can mainly be attributed to* the correct decisions timely and resolutely made under the firm leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at its core,

(OT) These notable achievements of the past year *can mainly be attributed to the following factors*. A series of timely, resolute and correct decisions were made under the firm leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at its core. (Zhu 1999b)

Given the generic feature of the government work report, outlining technique is frequently employed. As shown in this example, an array of events has been placed under the umbrella proposition to create a sense of hearer-friendliness and facilitate

the textual comprehension. It is of interest to see that the translators take more control by applying the summarising strategy to make the TT more easily comprehensible to the target audience. Therefore it seems that the mediating role of translation has become more explicit in Jiang's era.

Example Twelve

经济适用房的建设和销售有较大幅度增长。(Zhu 1999a)

(LT) The development and sales of *economical and affordable housing* increased by a fairly large margin.

(OT) The development and sales of *affordable housing for people with low or medium incomes* increased by a fairly large margin. (Zhu 1999b)

As discussed in the 1988 speech, the amplification strategy is applied in translation to elaborate on certain jargons unique in the Chinese context. In this example, ‘经济适用房 (jingji shiyongfang/economical and affordable housing)’ is a term referring to the commercial housing provided for low or medium income families. Subsidised by governments, this programme is part of the social welfare system in China. Given this culture-specific nature, the translators might deem it necessary to make the notion more accessible to the target audience who are apparently outside the cognitive and socio-political framework in which the original speech is produced. Moreover, this interpretative approach adopted in translation gives rise to the distinct social value associated with this term with respect to the positive façade of the Chinese government it reveals.

5.4.1.2.2 Semantic Condensation

Example Thirteen

今年政府工作总的要求是：高举邓小平理论伟大旗帜，深入贯彻落实党的十五大和十五届三中全会精神，……。 (Zhu 1999a)

(LT) The general requirements for the work of the government in 1999 are to hold

high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, *deepen the implementation of* the spirit of the Fifteenth National Congress of the CPC and the Third Plenary Session of the Fifteenth CPC Central Committee,

(OT) The general requirements for the work of the government in 1999 are to hold high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, *follow* the spirit of the Fifteenth National Congress of the CPC and the Third Plenary Session of the Fifteenth CPC Central Committee, (Zhu 1999b)

As mentioned before, a moderate level of semantic overlapping is a common rhetorical practice in Chinese political discourse to achieve an emphatic effect. The 1999 TT echoes some examples in the previous speech with respect to the similar strategy taken to deal with this point. What happens here is that the juxtaposition of verbs ‘深入贯彻落实 (shenru guanche luoshi/deepen the implementation of)’ is rendered into one simple process ‘follow’. This translation shift entails both the significant reduction of lexical variety and the lowering of register. The TT thus assumes a concise and less formal outlook. In line with similar examples in the 1988 speech, lexical condensation seems a sustained tendency in translating Chinese political speeches, which inevitably heightens the standard of acceptability and interpersonal dimension of the TT and eases the target comprehension.

5.4.1.2.3 Interpersonalisation Strategy

Example Fourteen

重点地区生态工程建设和长江、黄河上游天然林保护工程 *全面展开*。(Zhu 1999a)

(LT) The ecological protection projects in key areas and the project to protect the natural forests in the upper reaches of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers are *fully developed*.

(OT) The ecological protection projects in key areas and the project to protect the natural forests in the upper reaches of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers are *in full swing*. (Zhu 1999b)

Example Fifteen

我们一定要统一思想，坚定信心，抓住机遇，知难而进，团结一致，艰苦奋斗，争取把今年各个方面的工作做得更好。(Zhu 1999a)

(LT) We must work to unify our thinking, strengthen our confidence, seize opportunities, forge ahead despite difficulties, pull together as one and work hard *in order to perform well* on every front this year.

(OT) We must work to unify our thinking, strengthen our confidence, seize opportunities, forge ahead despite difficulties, pull together as one and work hard *in order to do a good job* on every front in 1999. (Zhu 1999b)

As these two examples show, there is a tendency towards informality in lexical choices in that the translators tend to opt for phrasal verbs rather than their single-word equivalence, which is rarely seen in the 1988 speech. In Example Fourteen, ‘fully developed’ giving way to ‘in full swing’, the sense of directness and vividness stands out markedly in the TT. Similarly, in Example Fifteen, the ST phrase ‘争取把今年各个方面的工作做得更好 (zhengqu ba jinnian gege fangmian de gongzuo zuo de genghao/in order to perform well on every front this year)’ is the formulaic expression employed by the CPC officials when delegating tasks to the subordinate units. However, the corresponding TT has been reworked into ‘in order to do a good job’, so that the original bureaucratic tone was almost out of place in the everyday phrasal verb of the TT. Instead, a conversational and slightly inspirational sense is conveyed to the TT audience. As phrasal verbs are said to be a typical marker for colloquial and informal discourse, the employment of them in the TT can be viewed as a tentative step to break the monologual frame of the ST and invest in the communicative dimension of the TT.

5.4.1.3 The 2011 Speech

5.4.1.3.1 Explication

Example Sixteen

中央财政“三农”投入累计近 3 万亿元，……。 (Wen 2011a)

(LT) Central government spending on “*three agriculture-related issues*” totaled nearly 3 trillion yuan,...

(OT) Central government spending on *agriculture, rural areas, and farmers* totaled nearly 3 trillion yuan,... (Wen 2011b)

Example Seventeen

加强重点流域水污染防治、大气污染防治和工业“三废”治理 (Wen 2011a)

(LT) Strengthen efforts to control water and air pollution in key watersheds, prevent and control air pollution and control “*three industrial wastes*”.

(OT) Strengthen efforts to control water and air pollution in key watersheds, prevent and control air pollution and control *industrial wastewater, waste gases, and residues*. (Wen 2011b)

As the above examples show, the explication strategy adopted in the translations of previous speeches has sustained into the 2011 one. Some contractions in the political and public domains such as ‘三农 (san nong/three agriculture-related issues)’ and ‘三废 (san fei/three wastes)’ entail clarification when rendered into the target language. It seems that there is a consistent awareness amid the translators with respect to the accommodation of target knowledge configurations.

5.4.1.3.2 Interpersonalisation

Example Eighteen

我们有效应对国际金融危机冲击，……。 (Wen 2011a)

(LT) We effectively *tackled* the impact of the global financial crisis, ...

(OT) We effectively *warded off* the impact of the global financial crisis, (Wen 2011b)

Example Nineteen

我们注重把握宏观调控的方向、重点和力度 牢牢掌握经济工作的主动权。(Wen 2011a)

(LT) We paid close attention to the orientation, focus and strength of macro-control and *firmly controlled* the initiative in our economic work.

(OT) We paid close attention to the orientation, focus and strength of macro-control and *kept a firm grasp on* the initiative in our economic work. (Wen 2011b)

Example Twenty

……较短时间内扭转经济增速下滑趋势，在世界率先实现回升向好，既战胜了特殊困难、……。 (Wen 2011a)

(LT) This helped to reverse the slowdown in economic growth in a relatively short time and make the Chinese economy the first in the world to *recover* again. In this way, we not only *overcame* the hard times

(OT) This helped to reverse the slowdown in economic growth in a relatively short time and make the Chinese economy the first in the world to *pick up* again. In this way, we not only *got over* the hard times (Wen 2011b)

In the 2011 speech, the feature of informality is given greater salience in the TT. The above examples demonstrate the textual preference for the informally marked phrasal verbs over the single-word equivalences that could have been traditionally pervasive in the TT. This tendency in translation resounds with that in the 1999 speech, therefore it could be considered as a sustained feature in the translated political discourse. The consistent effort to moderately lower the register of the TT is conducive to the strengthening of the interpersonal dimension of Chinese speeches by means of translation.

5.4.1.3.3 Neutralisation

In contrast to the trend of interpersonalisation discussed above, the translators tend to

stay neutral by toning down the overtly emotionally laden or informally registered language in the ST while resorting to a formalising tactic.

Example Twenty One

……农民的日子越过越好，农村发展进入一个新时代。(Wen 2011a)

(LT) *Farmers' lives have become better and better*, and rural development entered a new era.

(OT) *Farmers' lives constantly improved* and rural development entered a new era.
(Wen 2011b)

Example Twenty Two

全面实现城乡免费义务教育，所有适龄儿童都能“不花钱、有学上”。(Wen 2011a)

(LT) We all-roundedly realised free compulsory education in urban and rural areas. All children of school age can ‘*go to school without paying*’.

(OT) We made urban and rural compulsory education free so that all children of school age can *receive an education at no cost*. (Wen 2011b)

Example Twenty Three

过去五年，我们是一步一个脚印走过来的，中国人民有理由为此感到自豪！(Wen 2011a)

(LT) *We have walked through the past five years with every step leaving its print*, and the Chinese people have every reason to take pride in this!

(OT) *We worked steadily and made solid progress*, and the Chinese people have every reason to take pride in this. (Wen 2011b)

The three sentences in the ST hint at a colloquial discourse, which has hardly emerged in the previous two speeches. The juxtaposition of colloquialism into the orthodox Chinese political speeches is a recently emerging feature of Chinese political discourse. It partly marks out the intention of the speaker's emotional involvement with the audience. With the last sentence in particular, the emotiveness is stylistically

marked by an exclamatory mark.

Therefore it would be interesting to investigate how this textual phenomenon is dealt with in the TT. It can be found that in the first two sentences, the informal segments have been formally worded with ‘越过越好 (yue guo yue hao/to become better and better)’ and ‘不花钱、有学上 (buhuaqian youxueshang/to go to school without paying)’ rendered into ‘constantly improve’ and ‘receive an education at no cost’ respectively. Especially in the second sentence the quotation mark is removed in the TT along with the homogeneity of register in the translated discourse. Moreover, in the last sentence, the translation shift extends to the stylistic dimension. The ST resorts to a ‘walking’ metaphor to represent the government’s steady effort for progress. However, with the formalisation strategy adopted in the TT, the metaphoric expression has to be subdued in the unmarked and official discourse. In this case, the emotive and committed sense conveyed in the original speech has largely been reduced in the TT, which can be further justified by the replacement of the exclamatory mark with a period.

In conjunction with the informality trend, it can be said that the translators tend to opt for a mediating strategy to stay neutral. On the one hand, translation is intended to revive the orthodox discourse by injecting some interpersonal elements into it. On the other hand, when the original speech goes overtly emotionally laden or informally registered, the translators tend to tone down the emotiveness and resort to a formalising tactic. The overall strategy seems to integrate the TTs into the mainstream political discourse in order to optimise target-oriented context models by avoiding any potential textual conspicuity in the original texts.

5.4.2 Parallel Analysis

In terms of the sustained use of terms and expressions in the STs, the TTs do manifest themselves in the direction of reinvigorating and actively reconstructing the STs in

different stages of socio-political evolvement, as illustrated in the following instance.

Parallel Example One

我代表国务院，向大会作政府工作报告，请予审议。(Li 1988a)

(LT) *I, on behalf of the State Council, deliver the government work report to the session. Please examine and approve it.*

(OT) On behalf of the State Council, *I now submit* a report on the work of the government *for examination and approval by this session.* (Li 1988b)

现在，我代表国务院，向大会作政府工作报告，请予审议，并请全国政协各位委员提出意见。(Zhu 1999a)

(LT) Now, *I*, on behalf of the State Council, *deliver* the government work report to the session. *Please examine and approve it.* And I would like to ask every member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference to raise comments and suggestions.

(OT) On behalf of the State Council, *I now submit* a report on the work of the government *for your examination and approval* and also *for comments from members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.* (Zhu 1999b)

现在，我代表国务院，向大会作政府工作报告，请各位代表审议，并请全国政协委员提出意见。(Wen 2011a)

(LT) Now, *I*, on behalf of the State Council, *deliver* the government work report to the session. *I would like to ask every representative to examine and approve it.* And I would also like to ask members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference to raise comments and suggestions.

(OT) On behalf of the State Council, *I now present* to you my report on the work of the government for your *deliberation* and approval. *I also invite* the members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) to submit comments and suggestions. (Wen 2011b)

This parallel example generally shows the incrementally mediating role translation

plays in fostering a consultative style of political discourse. This stretch of text occurs at the outset of the report, signaling that the entire speech event hereby commences. It is therefore a formulaic component of this political genre and carries a strong illocutionary force of authoritativeness. The main difference in the three STs lies in the fact the latter two speeches take into account of the presence and contribution of the ‘members of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)’ as mentioned in the examples. In the Chinese political context, the CPPCC is a political advisory body whose decisions are influential at the national level but lack of the legally binding force in comparison with the National People’s Congress. Though largely controlled by the CPC, it is intended to be packaged as a representative and democratic organisation in the Chinese political representation. Therefore, the mention of its members at the salient textual position marks out the text producer’s attempt to construct a consultative stance of the Chinese polity.

Another change in the STs should also merit attention. In the 1988 and 1999 speeches, ‘请予审议 (qing yu shen yi/for examination and approval)’ were used, while in the 2011 one, it was changed into ‘请各位代表审议 (qing gewei daibiao shen yi/for every representative’s examination and approval)’. It goes without saying that the former expression is the clichéd honorary wording used in highly official Chinese settings for approval. This change would no doubt mitigate the rigidity of the Chinese political discourse and add to the interpersonal dimension of the speech by directly addressing the audience.

In terms of the translated discourse, what captures attention first is the added adverb of time ‘now’ in the 1988 TT. This small temporal marker is in no way insignificant given that it construes the unfolding of the speech event in real time and brings out a sense of spontaneity of the TT. It is more interesting to note that in the ensuing speeches of 1999 and 2011, the time adverbial ‘现在 (xian zai/now)’ has been added to the STs. This might reflect the fact that translation is gradually integrated into the

process of text production in the source context and that the ST producers are in an informed position to embrace and accommodate the subtle translation shifts in the ST production.

In terms of the diachronic variation in the TTs, it is easy to locate a series of notable lexical changes under the same ST wordings. The changes from ‘submit’ in the 1988 and 1999 speeches to ‘present’ in the most recent 2011 one conveys a less serious and bureaucratic tone and seems more appealing to the audience. Similarly, when ‘examination’ in the first two speeches gives way to ‘deliberation’ in the last one, the translators seem to direct the audience’s attention on the process in which the report is being reviewed and discussed than the mere result. This textual mediation in translation contributes to the fostering of a consultative posture in the reconstructed political discourse. Another instance is the use of ‘invite’ to mark out a change in the direction of constructing an interpersonal and interactive style of discourse. In the above analysis of the set of parallel examples, there is evidently a higher degree of textual manipulation in translating the most recent 2011 speech. Thus, it could tentatively suggest that translation is playing an increasingly important role in mediating the political discourse in line with the endorsed institutional norms.

Parallel Example Two

五年来我们国家在各方面取得的成就，是全国各族人民在中国共产党领导下团结奋斗的结果。我代表国务院，向全国工人、农民、知识分子、解放军指战员、广大干部和各界人士表示崇高的敬意，向全国各族人民对政府工作的支持表示衷心的感谢！（Li 1988a）

(LT) During the five years the achievements in all these fields of our country are the outcome of the concerted efforts of the people of all our nationalities under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. *I*, on behalf of the State Council, *pay lofty respects to* the workers, *farmers* and intellectuals, *the officers and soldiers of the people’s Liberation Army*, and the cadres and *personages of various circles* throughout the country, and express sincere thanks to the people of all our

nationalities for their support of the work of the government.

(OT) The achievements in all these fields are *due to* the united efforts of *the people of all our nationalities* under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. On behalf of the State Council, I *should like to salute* the workers, *peasants* and intellectuals, *the officers and men of the people's Liberation Army*, the cadres and *public figures in various circles* throughout the country, and to express heartfelt thanks to the people of all our nationalities for their support of the work of the government. (Li 1988b)

在此，我代表国务院，向奋斗在全国各条战线上的广大工人、农民、知识分子、干部、人民解放军、武警部队官兵和公安干警以及各界人士，表示崇高的敬意！向关心与支持祖国建设和统一的香港特别行政区同胞与澳门、台湾同胞和海外侨胞，表示衷心的感谢！（Zhu 1999a）

(LT) Hereby I, on behalf of the State Council, *pay lofty respects to* workers, *farmers*, intellectuals, *cadres and members of the People's Liberation*, the armed police and the public security police, and personages of various circles, *all of whom* work hard on the various individual fronts throughout the country, and express heartfelt thanks to the compatriots in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macau, Taiwan and overseas Chinese who have cared for and supported the development and reunification of the motherland.

(OT) On behalf of the State Council, I *would like to pay my highest respects to* workers, *farmers*, intellectuals, *cadres and members of the People's Liberation Army*, the armed police and the public security police, as well as *people from all walks of life*. *You* have been working hard on your various individual fronts *throughout* the country. Our sincere thanks also go to our compatriots in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macau, Taiwan and overseas Chinese who have *shown their concern for* and supported the development and reunification of the motherland. (Zhu 1999b)

这是以胡锦涛同志为总书记的党中央总揽全局、正确领导的结果，是全党全国各

族人民共同努力奋斗的结果。在这里，我代表国务院，向全国各族人民，向各民主党派、各人民团体和各界人士，表示诚挚感谢！向香港特别行政区同胞、澳门特别行政区同胞、台湾同胞和海外侨胞，表示诚挚感谢！向关心和支持中国现代化建设的各国政府、国际组织和各国朋友，表示诚挚感谢！（Hu 2011a）

(LT) This is the outcome that was achieved under the broad vision and correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Hu Jintao as General Secretary and by the concerted efforts of the Party and *the people of all nationalities* throughout the country. Here I, on behalf of the State Council, express sincere thanks to the people of all nationalities, all democratic parties and mass organizations, and *personages of various circles*. I express sincere thanks to compatriots in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and in Taiwan, and overseas Chinese. I express sincere thanks to governments from other countries, international organizations and friends from other countries who care for and support China's modernization.

(OT) They (The achievements) were made *thanks to* the broad vision and correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Hu Jintao as General Secretary and the concerted efforts of the Party and *the people of all ethnic groups across* the country. On behalf of the State Council, I *would like to express my sincere gratitude* to the people of all ethnic groups, all democratic parties and mass organizations, and *people from all walks of life*. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to our compatriots in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and in Taiwan, and overseas Chinese. Finally, my sincere thanks go to the governments of other countries, international organizations and friends from around the world who *care for* and support China's modernization. (Hu 2011b)

Given that the three speeches are of the same genre and delivered on the same occasion, a set of homogeneous textual patterns can be captured. The above three portions exacted from the three speeches respectively are strikingly comparable in format and content. They are delivered as formulaic greetings to the general public to

discursively exhibit the national pride and unify the country.

As shown in italics, the most notable feature involved here is the lexical changes in translating identical terms. With respect to diachronic evolvement of the renderings of ‘全国各族人民 (quanguo gezu renmin/the people of all zus)’ in the three speeches, the findings are exactly in agreement with those located in the commemorative data. Therefore the discussion would be omitted here, but it should be pointed out that such a coincidental match in the TTs across genres would lend itself to the investigation into translating the Chinese political speeches as a consistent and systematic institutional operation.

Different renderings of ‘各界人士 (ge jie ren shi/personages of various circles)’ also merit attention. This is an honorific to refer to people of all walks of life in formal settings. It has undergone some variations in different periods, from ‘public figures in various circles’ in the 1988 speech to ‘people from all walks of life’ in the latter two. This change not only suggests a broader semantic scope but signals the lowering of register, thus demonstrating the intent to opt for a more open and everyday discourse. By a similar token, there is a lexical variation in rendering ‘敬意 (jing yi/respect)’ into ‘salute’ in the 1988 speech and ‘pay respect to’ in the 1999. With the replacement of ‘pay respect to’, the rigid military sense encoded in ‘salute’ was displaced in the 1999 speech, adding to the cumulative effect of creating a more accessible and appealing context model for the target audience.

Another aspect of the lexical changes results from an increasing awareness to join the contemporary global discourse. In the 1988 speech, stilted, dated and even partial representations can be traced by the use of ‘should like to’, ‘peasants’ and ‘the officers and men of the people’s Liberation Army’. However, in view of the latter two speeches, all these inappropriate expressions have been replaced with ‘would like to’, ‘farmers’, ‘cadres and members of the People’s Liberation Army’. In this sense, the discourse construction in translation is thus viewed as an informed act of constantly

interacting with the prevalent global discourse.

Of particular interest is the shift of tenor in the 1999 speech where the TT deviated from the original third-person perspective in addressing the public and brought in the second-person pronoun ‘you’ in acknowledging their contributions. The direct address of audience is relatively infrequent in the scripted report, especially in such a case where this phenomenon is initiated by translation. Consequently, the spontaneity and interpersonal dimension of the speech is elevated through the added emotional commitment of the speaker.

5.4.3 Summary

The instances listed above are placed into the following categories as shown in the table below.

	1988 Speech	1999 Speech	2011 Speech
Interpersonalisation	3	4	5
Explication	3	3	2
Semantic condensation	1	1	
Neutralisation			3
TT accommodations	1	2	
Intertextuality	1		

Table 4 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Government Work Report

The category of ‘interpersonalisation’ is illustrated by an array of textual tactics operating at the semantic and syntactic levels to readjust the ST segments in the direction of amplifying the interpersonal dimension of the TT. In the 1988 speech, for instance, by transforming a mundane list of nominal phrases into a clausal event

where the actor is specified and a string of actions are vigorously identified. The mediocre tone of reporting is being tangibly replaced by a dynamic and interactive style emerging in the TT. This respect of translation shifts marks off the textual readjustments to the target audience's frame in which personalised and interactive narrative is valued and accepted, so that the reconstruction of the source textual convention which favours a detached and impersonalised tone in political communication is well under way.

Whilst in the 1999 and 2011 speeches, a noticeably high proportion of phrasal verbs are interspersed into the TTs, which in large part signifies the rhetorical attempt to downplay the prevalent bureaucratic tone of Chinese political speeches and invest in the communicative dimension of the TTs.

In terms of the category of 'explication', this set of data demonstrates a consistent awareness on the part of the translators of the target cognitive and cultural frames by explicating the fuzzy or taken-for-granted political terminologies in the three TTs. Moreover, at the inter-clausal level, conjunctions tend to be added to the TT organisation of messages with attitudinal values attached to and some level of control imposed on the translated discourse. This explanatory approach has a particular stake in enhancing the standard of adaptability and coherence of the TT. Meanwhile, it serves as a double-edged tactic with respect to its privileged source-oriented stance to disseminate the authorised dominative knowledge to the target audiences along the underlying institutional norms.

The category of 'semantic condensation' points to the tendency in political translation that the semantic overlapping considered rhetorically appropriate in Chinese political discourse to achieve an emphatic effect seems to be intentionally avoided and adapted into the condensed and terse renderings. As a consequence, the ideological slant implicated has largely diminished. This shift can be seen as the translators' attempt to adapt the TTs to the context models envisaged for the target audience, which largely

heightens the standard of acceptability and the interactive dimension of the TTs as well as facilitates target comprehension.

The feature of neutralisation suggests a mediating strategy employed in the translation of political discourse. In contrast to the trend of interpersonalisation discussed above, the translators tend to tone down the overtly emotionally laden or informally registered language in the ST and resort to a formalising tactic. In this sense, the colloquial and emotive notes are subdued into the unmarked official discourse. The aspect of translation shift seems to indicate a conservative strategy to stay neutral in Chinese political translation in order to optimise target-oriented context models by avoiding any potential textual salience stemming from the original texts.

The category of ‘TT accommodations’ is mainly demonstrated through the strengthened skills of textual organization to create a sense of hearer-friendliness and facilitate the textual comprehension. For example, the translators exercise more control on the flow of discourse by applying the summarising strategy to place an array of events under the umbrella proposition in order to make the TTs more easily comprehensible to the target audience and enhance the communicative function of the genre of reportage.

Intertextuality demonstrated in this set of data can also be viewed as the dialectical relationship between ST and TT production. As illustrated in Parallel Example One, a translation shift in the speech delivered in Deng’s era has been embraced in the original speeches of the two periods of leadership. This translation-initiated discourse change reinstates the fact that translation is gradually integrated into the process of text production in the source context and that the ST producers are in an informed position to embrace and accommodate the subtle translation shifts in the ST production.

5.5 Political Speeches on Special Issues

This set of data is composed of three seminal political speeches on the issue of Taiwan delivered by Deng, Jiang and Hu in each of their periods of governance. It sets out to cast an insight into the translation of another political subgenre dealing with sensitive issues such as the Taiwan issue under examination.

5.5.1 The Development of Political Discourse on the Issue of Taiwan in Different Periods

China has consistently maintained that Taiwan is an undeniable part of its sovereign territory throughout its five thousand years of history. At the time of the establishment of the PRC after the civil war in 1949, the defeated Nationalist Party, namely, Kuomintang (KMT) withdrew to the island of Taiwan and ruled it under the name of the Republic of China (ROC). The PRC does not recognise the legitimacy of the ROC and claims itself to be the only legitimate representative of all parts of China. In turn, the ROC denies the legitimacy of the CPC government's governance on mainland China. The impasse and hostility culminated in regional military clashes in the early decades since the founding of the PRC.

The problem of Taiwan has never been an easy task to handle, making generations of Chinese leadership grapple with it. In line with varying domestic and international contexts, different political terms, manifested as the subtle changes of political discourse, have been discreetly put forward to unify public thoughts and enlist support. In the early years, most of China's efforts were geared towards the goal of uniting the whole country. Taiwan is apparently the primary target. Given the CPC's unprecedented achievement of building the country, the CPC authorities ambitiously vowed to ‘解放属于中国的最后一寸土地 (jiefang shuyu zhongguo de zuihou yicun tudi/liberate the last inch of soil that belongs to China)’. Therefore the prevalent guiding line was ‘武力解放 (wuli jiefang/armed liberation)’ (Cai 2009: 1) and permeated with harsh rhetoric (Hickey 2009: 34). Due to the distraction of China's

heavy military input into the Korean War and the subsequent intervention from the US, the above policy towards the island yielded few dividends for mainland China.

The mid-1950s saw a shift of China's hardline approach towards a wave of tentatively peaceful initiatives. With the Far East situation brought under control, China was aware that the question of Taiwan was a complex one, and the thought of '和平解放台湾问题 (heping jie jue Taiwan wenti/resolving the Taiwan question by peaceful negotiation)' began to take shape (Cai 2009: 2). A more down-to-earth expression of this proposition would be '政治斗争为主, 军事对抗为辅 (zhengzhi douzheng weizhu junshi duikang weifu/to place political struggle first, and military confrontation second)'(ibid). Rather than military actions, diplomatic and other peaceful means were prioritised to ease cross-strait tensions as well as to avert the resistance of the Taiwanese people and the intervention from the US-led international community.

The late 1970s marked a strategic move forward. '一国两制 (yi guo liang zhi/one country, two system)' formulated by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s was initiated into the policy towards Taiwan. In other words, the island would be allowed to maintain its current socio-economic system and even its own armed forces on the precondition that it recognises the PRC as the only legitimate China in the world. Meanwhile China developed diplomatic ties with more countries following the restoration of its seat in the UN in an attempt to isolate Taiwan internationally. Under immense pressure, Taiwan had to give more thoughts on the 'prickly olive branch' stretched out by the mainland.

Cross-strait interactions in such areas as trade and tourism have emerged since the late 1980s and 1990s. The booming economic links drew the two sides closer than ever, but moves toward democratisation in Taiwan and its President Lee Teng-hui's pro-independence stance appeared to push them further apart. Against this backdrop, the PRC government put pressure on the Taiwanese government by staging a series of

missile tests off Taiwan's coastline. Moreover, Jiang Zemin deemed it necessary to consolidate the reunification formula created by Deng and injected a modest degree of pragmatism and flexibility to appeal to the Taiwanese public. Hence Jiang's 'Eight-Point' proposal was called forth.

As time goes by, the right wording regarding the Taiwan question in this period has evolved from the '解放 (jie fang/liberalisation)' and '回归祖国 (hui gui zu guo/return to the motherland)' to '和平统一 (he ping tong yi/peaceful reunification)', which means the mainland has ceased to view Taiwan as a subordinate province and tends to see both of them as equal entities to be joined together within the one-China framework. The discourse shifts can be construed as an ideological adjustment to the growing Taiwanese sentiments which demand their own identity to be recognised. In order to advance the sound cross-strait relations and contain the incessant waves of pro-independent activities in Taiwan, Hu Jintao proposed the 'Four-Point' guideline in 2005 which has accorded a central role in the new era.

5.5.2 Comparative Analysis of the Three Speeches and Their Translations

The first speech is an excerpt from a talk between Deng and Professor Yang Liyu of Seton Hall University in the US on June 26, 1983 in which he set forth a 'Six-Point' guideline (known as Six Point) for the resolution of the Taiwan issue. In this speech, Deng formalised the thought of the 'one country, two system' principle and lay the foundation for the central theme of peaceful reunification. The second speech is an excerpt of Jiang's speech entitled 'Strive to Promote the Great Cause of the Reunification of the Motherland' delivered on 30 January, 1995, in which Jiang elaborated on the idea of 'one country two system and peaceful reunification' and made an 'Eight-Point' offer to Taiwan (known as Eight-Point). The third speech was delivered by Hu Jintao in which he outlined a 'Four-Point' guideline (known as Four-Point) on cross-strait relations on 4 March, 2005. It fully displays the Chinese

mainland's sincerity and goodwill towards Taiwan. On the other hand, it expresses the leadership's determination to resolutely crack down on 'Taiwan Independence' secessionist activities.

5.5.2.1 Formalisation

One aim of this section is to outline the main features of the translated political speeches epitomised in the chosen texts. It has been found that the three translated texts take on a feature of formalisation, that is, the informal or colloquial expressions in the STs are rendered into more formal ones. The heterogeneous textual phenomenon involves the combination of different types of genres or discourse and is viewed as an important dimension of textual configurations. It is interspersed in the flow of discourse as a salient discursive practice marking off some discursive shift informed by social change. However, the TTs tend to resist the plurality of discourses and resort to a conservative strategy by formalising the marked colloquialism in the STs.

Example One

我们承认台湾地方政府在对内政策上可以搞自己的一套。(Deng 1983a)

(LT) We recognise Taiwan local government on domestic policies may *play its own set*.

(OT) We recognise that the local government of Taiwan may *have its own separate set of policies for domestic affairs*. (Deng 1983a)

Example Two

我们也愿意接受台湾方面的邀请, 前往台湾。可以共商国事, 也可以先就某些问题交换意见, 就是相互走走看看, 也是有益的。(Jiang 1995b)

(LT) We also are willing to accept Taiwan side's invitation to go to Taiwan. (We) can together discuss state affairs, and also can first on certain questions exchange ideas. Even to *walk and have a look* at each other is also useful.

(OT) We are also ready to accept invitations from the Taiwan side to visit Taiwan. We can discuss state affairs, or exchange ideas on certain questions first. Even *a simple visit* to the other side will be useful. (Jiang 1995d)

Example Three

两岸和平统一了，可以……使两岸同胞增进一家亲情。(Hu 2005b)

(LT) When Two sides peacefully unite, (we) can enhance *one family affinity* between the compatriots of two sides.

(OT) When the two sides of the Straits are reunited, ... *affinity* between the compatriots on both sides (can be) enhanced. (Hu 2005d)

The shift to a more interpersonal discourse is a marked feature in the pre-scripted Chinese political speeches, however, their English translations appear to ‘play safe’ through textual devices such as formalisation and explication. This may send out a signal that for translating politically sensitive texts the minimisation of potential disputes arising from cultural and political difference is prioritised over relaying the same tenor or effect as in the source culture. This type of translational intervention further illustrates the attempt to conform the group knowledge stemming from the source culture to the cultural knowledge shared by a wider range of audience at the international setting.

5.5.2.2 Normalisation

The second prominent feature running through the translated texts is normalisation, which is commonly understood as a transformation process through which verbs are reclassified as nouns (Dunmire 2005: 490). The typical instances extracted from the three TTs are illustrated as follows.

Example Four

要实现统一，就要有个适当方式……。(Deng 1983a)

(LT) To *realise reunification*, there should be a proper way.

(OT) *Reunification* must be brought about in a proper way. (Deng 1983b)

Example Five

坚持一个中国的原则，是实现和平统一的基础和前提。(Jiang 1995b)

(LT) To *adhere to one China principle* is the basis and premise of realising peaceful reunification.

(OT) *Adherence to the principle of one China* is the basis and premise for peaceful reunification. (Jiang 1995d)

Example Six

坚持一个中国原则，是发展两岸关系和实现祖国和平统一的基石。(Hu 2005b)

(LT) To *adhere to one China principle* is the cornerstone to develop both sides' relations and realise motherland peaceful reunification.

(OT) *Adherence to the one-China principle* serves as the cornerstone for developing cross-Straits relations and realizing peaceful reunification of the motherland. (Hu 2005b)

By means of normalisation a possible future event is transformed into an objective and presupposed entity, making the claim seem undisputable. Moreover, the strengthening effect is also achieved through the 'high-value' (Halliday 1994: 362) model auxiliary 'must' and the non-model epistemic assertion (Simpson 1993: 49) 'is'. As the above instances have shown, this feature is frequently used in stating the paramount matter such as 'One China' principle, which remains unchanged in handling the Taiwan question throughout the three periods of leadership.

5.5.3 Translation Shifts at the Lexical Level

This sub-section aims to deal with some systemic shifts in terms of translating some identical lexical items (general nouns and verbs) arising noticeably from the parallel

texts given the shared theme of the data and the consistently evolving historical and political contexts in the three periods of leadership. In this regard, slightly different expressions are tailored in translating the terms of literally the same representations within different socio-political context. Two instances are illustrated below regarding the way of addressing mainland China and Taiwan and the verbs to collocate with ‘统一 (tong yi/reunification)’.

The way of addressing China’s mainland and Taiwan involves subtle changes. In Deng’s speech, it is presented simply as ‘大陆 (da lu/mainland)’ and ‘Taiwan’ in most cases, so the literal translation would be appropriate. However, in Jiang’s and Hu’s speeches, the same term ‘两岸 (liang an/two sides)’ is translated exclusively as ‘two sides’ in the former and mostly as ‘cross-straits’ in the latter. ‘Two sides’ invokes a feeling of contrast, while ‘Cross-straits’ gives a sense of unity. The use of the latter in Hu’s speech is in accordance with the development between the mainland and Taiwan toward the establishment of mutual understanding. Thus, a higher degree of sincerity and solidarity in Hu’s period can be discerned from this translation shift.

Another instance is that the verbs that collocate with ‘统一 (tong yi/reunification)’ vary. In the three original texts, ‘完成统一 (wan cheng tong yi/complete reunification)’ is frequently used in Deng’s speech, While in Jiang and Hu’s speech, ‘实现统一 (shi xian tong yi/achieve/realise reunification)’ is used. The first term is related with the ideological focus in the early years since China was founded when reclaiming sovereignty over Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan was firmly embedded in public mental representations. Without Taiwan’s return to the motherland, the cause of reunification would not have been completed. Therefore ‘完成 (wan cheng)’ is used in Deng’s speech. Compared with ‘实现 (shi xian)’, it indicates less effort, which might be related to the fact that in the early 1980s when the concept of peaceful reunification was first formulated, the twists and turns of this process had not been fully estimated.

With respect to the translations of the terms, ‘完成 (wan cheng)’ is translated literally as ‘complete’. ‘实现 (shi xian)’, however, is translated as ‘achieve/accomplish’ and ‘realise’ in Jiang and Hu’s speeches respectively. In terms of lexical implications, ‘realise’ commands more force in making the cause of reunification come true, while ‘achieve’ and ‘accomplish’ have some ‘boulomaic’ connotations, which means they carry more sense of desire and hope. In ten years following Jiang’s propositions, Hu has certainly mapped out a clearer picture of the Taiwan question. In this regard, the translation shift in Hu’s speech is considered more appropriate.

5.5.4 Translation Shifts at the Syntactic Level

Apart from the lexical analysis, syntactic structures also provide clues for the analysis of political discourse projected in translation. In terms of syntactic features in the TTs, the following analysis is further developed around transitivity and theme. The reasons are presented respectively as follows: transitivity involves how the action is performed, by whom and on what (Yaghoobi 2009). Any translation shifts on this deserve attention in that the translators’ intervention in how processes are devised becomes salient. The Theme-Rheme dichotomy clarifies the coherence and organisation of the text. Any shifts in translation on this aspect would make explicit the translators’ organising strategy.

5.5.4.1 Transitivity (Existential Processes):

Example Seven

自治不能没有限度，既有限度就不能“完全”。(Deng 1983a)

(LT) Autonomy cannot do without limits, and since there are limits, it cannot be complete.

(OT) *There must be* limits to autonomy, and where there are limits, nothing can be complete. (Deng 1983b)

The double negative polarity in the ST is changed into the affirmative construction to

make the translators' intention explicit. This is also emphasised by the use of existential process 'there be' and modal auxiliary of high modal responsibility 'must', indicating that limits co-exist with autonomy and that this is an undeniable fact.

Example Eight

中美关系最近略有好转。(Deng 1983a)

(LT) Sino-U.S relations have recently been slightly improved.

(OT) *There has been* some improvement in Sino-US relations recently. (Deng 1983b)

In the same vein, the existential process is opted for. The translators seem to simply highlight the existence of the situation, that is, some improvement has emerged in the bilateral relations. This only serves as the departure, which the translators wouldn't dwell on, since the focus is on the ensuing disparities of the two countries political systems, which is initiated by 'however' in the following text.

5.5.4.2 Theme

5.5.4.2.1 Thematised Comment

Example Nine

进行海峡两岸和平统一谈判，*是我们的一贯主张*。(Jiang 1995a)

(LT) To hold negotiations with the Taiwan authorities on the peaceful reunification of the motherland *has been our consistent stand*.

(OT) *It has been our consistent stand* to hold negotiations with the Taiwan authorities on the peaceful reunification of the motherland. (Jiang 1995b)

The syntactic construction of the TT is frequently used in Chinese-English translations. It is labeled as Thematised Comment in Thompson's (2004: 152) classification of theme types. This thematic structure allows speakers to start their message with their own comment on the value or validity of what they intend to say (ibid). Specifically, the proposition 'to hold negotiations with the Taiwan authorities

on the peaceful reunification of the motherland’ is evaluated as ‘the consistent stand of the Chinese government’. It is worth noting that as the sentence opens up the third proposal in Jiang’s speech, the thematised structure adds strength and authority to the argument. This may explain why this type of thematic structure is particularly favoured in Chinese political discourse.

Example Ten

如果说不急，那是假话，我们上了年纪的人，总希望早日实现。(Deng 1983a)

(LT) *If we say we are in no hurry, it is not true.* People like us, who are advanced in years, wish to see reunification as soon as possible.

(TT) [But] *it would not be true to say that we are in no hurry.* People like us, who are advanced in years, wish to see reunification as soon as possible. (Deng 1983b)

In the TT, the thematic structure plus the modal verb ‘would’ with low probability value is identical with the conditional complex clause in the ST in terms of the ideational function. However, the informal tone is played down in the TT with the simple thematised clause, as has been pointed out by Halliday (1985) that written language tends to be characterised by syntactic simplicity and complex wordings. The translated version seems to be more formal and congruent with the norms of scripted political speeches.

5.5.4.2.2 Thematic Equatives:

Example Eleven

这不仅是我们的立场，也见之于台湾现有的规定和文件。(Hu 2005b)

(LT) This is not only our stand, but also *seen in the existing regulations and documents in Taiwan.*

(OT) This is not only our stand, but also *what can be found in the existing regulations and documents in Taiwan.* (Hu 2005d)

The traditionally called ‘pseudo-cleft’ structure is renamed as ‘thematic equative’ in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 69) because the Theme-Rheme structure is expressed in the form ‘Theme=Rheme’ with the ‘=’ expressed by the Predicator ‘be’. This kind of thematic structure usually contains WH-element in Theme or Rheme (Thompson 2004: 150), as shown in the above OT. In this case, the speaker seems to imagine the hearer might want to ask some questions at this stage in the text. Therefore, the information is staged in this particular pseudo question-answer form, making explicit the interactive consideration of the audience. Given the context, ‘this’ refers to the recognition of the status quo that the mainland and Taiwan are not reunified although they belong to one and the same China. It is the first time in decades that the mainland adopted this ‘soft’ and more realistic approach to claim the One-China principle. This is properly matched by interactive strategy in the TT. Moreover, another important feature of this syntactic construction is that it adds to the semantic component of exclusiveness (Fadda 2006: 925). The exclusiveness brought about by the thematic equative structure will no doubt enhance the assertive tone of the TT.

Example Twelve

维护国家主权和领土完整，是国家的核心利益。(Hu 2005b)

(LT) Safeguarding state sovereignty and territorial integrity is *a country's core interest*.

(OT) Safeguarding state sovereignty and territorial integrity is *where a country's core interest lies*. (Hu 2005d)

Similarly, the incongruent expression in the TT belongs to the thematic equative structure. As this sentence takes the lead in Hu’s last and most serious proposition ‘never compromise in opposing the ‘Taiwan Independence’ secessionist activities’. By the same token, this syntactic construction implicitly presupposes a question put by the audience as to ‘where does a country’s core interest lie?’, and integrates the answer in the same clause. At the same time, it is indicated through the ‘theme=rheme’ structure that the answer is the exclusive one to the question. In this

sense, the unnegotiable diplomatic stance has been reinforced in the marked textual technique. Therefore, the interactiveness and exclusiveness expressed by the special construction can help achieve a firm and forceful effect in the TT.

5.5.5 Summary

Interestingly, each of the three TTs has displayed unique syntactic features regarding the translation shifts. The TT of Deng's speech tends to employ the existential process 'there be' more frequently than the other two. Hence the information is staged in a way to highlight the existence of a certain situation and meanwhile obscure the participants of the process. In other words, the flow of discourse is constrained in a somewhat rigid form in which the textual interactiveness has been weakened and authority exerted.

Jiang's speech shows a particular preference for the thematic comment construction. This syntactic operation gives text producers the privilege of setting up their own comment and constitutes a discursive setting for the TT producer to pre-empt the discourse in line with the pre-set agenda.

Hu's speech enjoys a relatively high frequency of the thematic equative structure. This recent employment of this syntactic construction points to the tendency to project the political discourse in an interactive and assertive manner, which has become possible as the world gradually recognises the greater role that China is playing.

To gain a comprehensive overview of this section, the following table is provided to summarise the functional categories involved.

	Deng	Jiang	Hu
Formalisation	2	1	1
Normalisation	1	1	1

Legitimation	1	1	3
Interaction			2

Table 5 Functional Categories of the Translations of Chinese Political Speeches on Special Issues

The category of ‘formalisation’ indicates the stylistic deviation from the interpersonal discourse exhibited in the original Chinese political speeches to the intended resort to the conservative global strategy of conforming to the officially registered discourse. This phenomenon may send out a signal that for translating politically sensitive texts the minimisation of political frictions is prioritised over relaying the same tenor or effect as in the source culture. This technique marks out a consistent step to construct the context models that are appealing to the target audience to enhance the level of acceptability of the TTs.

‘Normalisation’ is generally understood as the process through which verbs are transformed as nouns, so that a possible future event is turned into an objective and presupposed entity, adding to the undisputable tone. As illustrated by the above instances, this feature is frequently used in reinstating the paramount issue such as “One China” principle, which remains unchanged in handling the Taiwan question throughout the three periods of leadership.

In this set of data, ‘legitimation’ is observed as the textual attempt to protect and maintain the political standpoints from being defiled. To this end, semantic exclusiveness is achieved through syntactic reconstructions such as transitivity shifts and thematisation to accentuate the subliminal assertive tone and highlight the paramount textual segments.

The category of ‘interaction’ is mainly illustrated by the emergence of the ‘thematic equative’ construction employed in Hu’s TT. In this marked syntactic feature, information is staged in this particular pseudo question-answer form, making explicit

the interactive consideration of the audience in a way that they are presupposed to post a question to the speaker. Given the context in which Beijing tends to opt for a more intricate but nevertheless more assertive approach to the One-China principle, the interactive strategy adopted in translation has a particular stake in underlining the ideological readjustment of socio-political norms.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to show how the translation shifts are displayed through comparative analysis and parallel study of the five main sub-genres of political speeches and their translations. To sum up, we shall now highlight the main functional aspects which have emerged from the textual examination into the translation process with special attention paid to the genre-related issues.

5.6.1 General Features of Translation Shifts

Prior to the formal discussion of the general features of the translated speeches, it would be necessary to point out that some of the terms in the functional categories resemble those of the concept of translation universals. As another important notion in descriptive translation studies, it generally refers to the study of linguistic features which typically occur in translated texts rather than the original, non-translated texts (Laviosa 2011: 306). Toury (1980a, 1995) puts forward two exemplary laws of the translational behaviour: the law of increasing standardisation, and the law of interference from the source text. Basically conceived as conditioned and probabilistic, the laws of translation, he argues, are valued in terms of their ‘explanatory power’ rather than their ‘existence’ (Toury 2004: 29). In line with Toury, Chesterman (2000, 2004) views translation universals as the quest for generalisations of translation. Meanwhile he is moderately concerned with testing the general hypotheses against each particular case.

The quest for universals in translation has become a thriving line of research in

descriptive translation studies since the development of corpus-based analysis in the mid-1990s (Baker 1993, 1995, 1996; Laviosa 1997, 2002; Mauranen 2000; Kenny 2001). Thanks to the increasing availability of large-scale computerised corpora in many languages, the research of translation universals can be more objectively and scientifically grounded. The recurrent features of translation are typically represented in Baker's (1996: 176-7) four universal features of translation based on the earlier studies on universals. They are simplification (the idea to simplify the language or message or both), explicitation (an overall tendency to spell things out), normalisation or conservatism (the tendency to conform to patterns and practices which are typical of the target language, even to the point of exaggerating them) and leveling out (the tendency of translated text to gravitate around the centre of any continuum rather than move towards the fringes).

In comparison with the translation features identified in each genre of political speeches, it is evident that all of the four universals are dealt with explicitly or implicitly. For instance, 'explicitation' and 'normalisation' have been explicitly referred to and extensively discussed in a number of genres. 'Simplification' is integrated into the umbrella term 'TT accommodations' in terms of reducing the level of repetition or semantic overlapping to fit in with the textual conventions of the TTs. Leveling out resembles closely with 'neutralisation' in an attempt to neutralising the emotionally-laden or informally-registered language.

However, this study tends to discuss those recurrent features of political translation in specific discursive contexts rather than place a uniform label of 'universals' on them. The rationales are as follows. Firstly, the term 'universal' is subject to much criticism, principally because each universal is actually developed through the study of a certain genre and reflects the interest in a certain research context (Toury 1995, Chesterman and Arrojo 2000; House 2008). Therefore, the naming itself is problematic and potentially misleading, as each 'universal' tends to have different textual manifestations amongst different genres of political speeches. This concern resounds

fairly well with Toury's argument that the value of 'universals of translation' lies in their explanatory power rather than their existence. Secondly, as the research focus of this thesis is socially oriented to reveal the relationship between the translation products and their social situatedness, this study is basically qualitative in the quest of some paratextual features based on the textual analysis such as the translation purpose, intended readership, and the translators' performance through text analysis, while these factors are not collectively accessible by the corpus-oriented translation studies.

It is time to move on to discuss the general feature of the translated speeches. As illustrated in the previous summaries of each set of data, there are some consistent features of translation shifts emerging across all the genres of political speeches. A case in point would be the shifts made to fit translations into the target discursive configurations, as termed 'TT accommodations' in the previous discussions. The translators seem to bear in mind different textual conventions and expectations in the target community, and place more emphasis on the interaction with the target schematic structures.

This feature has a diverse range of manifestations in different genres of data. For example, when it comes to the genre of government report in Section Four, this category of translation shifts is manifested as the strengthened skill of textual organisation to create a sense of hearer-friendliness and facilitate textual comprehension. The translators exercise more control on the flow of discourse by applying the summarising strategy to make the TTs more easily comprehensible to the target audience and enhance the communicative function of the genre of reportage. Whereas in the genre of commemorative speeches in Section One of Chapter Four where parallelism is common to make an emotional appeal to the audience, it takes the form of reducing the level of repetition in rendering the highly emotionally-charged parallel constructions, so that the TTs are made stylistically more congruous with the TT conventions.

It is worthy of note that the previous figures show that this respect of translation shifts is given fuller play in Jiang and Hu's periods, suggesting a growing tendency that target readership is more effectively accommodated with the passage of time.

The feature of neutralisation is displayed in most sets of speeches in a way that the emotive or highly vibrant language style is being neutralised in translations especially in the post-Deng leaderships. For instance, the first-person narrative is shifted to the third-person angle, hinting at the pursuit of projecting an objective and formal representations of the ST community in front of the target audience. Elsewhere, the colloquial and emotive style in the STs is drowned out in the mainstream official discourse through translation. This aspect of translation shift tends to suggest a move to create the target-compatible context models by assimilating the group knowledge in the ST construction into the target group knowledge structure as a result of the macro-level power play to adduce more common ground at the international setting.

Another sustained feature involves the unique translational discursive investment into the legitimacy building as named 'legitimation' in the previous discussions. This strategy of translation is consistent with van Dijk's socio-cognitive formulation of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as a result of the privileged access to discourse management by powerful groups. For instance, cohesive links are frequently added to augment the intra-textual cohesion in the TTs as a subtle textual manipulation to accentuate the metadiscourse function of the discursive event which is to do with strengthening the CPC authority and sustaining social stability. Elsewhere, legitimation is demonstrated in the syntactic restructuring of the ST elements or added modifiers into the textual segments to highlight the positive-self representations of the ST community. This indicates an ideologically-laden strategy to project a positive receptive front amongst the target community and strengthen the legitimacy building in a principled way.

5.6.2 Genre-specific Features

In terms of the other types of translation shifts within the distinct genres, some specific features have emerged to respond to the communicative functions determined by the contextual configurations of each socio-political setting. For instance, the feature of ‘ST distinctiveness’ arises in the first and third sections of Chapter Four involving the political subgenres of commemorative speeches and Party reports. It refers to the practice of preserving in the TTs the original sense of certain ST political terms unique to the Chinese political system. As the primary communicative goal shared by the two genres of speeches is to arouse and reinforce the national consciousness in advancing along the socialist path of ‘Chinese Characteristics’, it would be considered rhetorically necessary to retain a degree of ‘Chinese distinctiveness’ through the textual mediation in translation.

The functional category of ‘mitigating effect’ exclusively occurs in the genre of diplomatic speeches. It shows the attempt to mitigate the potential face-threatening effect brought about by the strongly-worded ST sequences, which conforms to the essential aim of the diplomatic communication. This translation technique plays a crucial part in projecting a ‘peace-making’ stance to mitigate the ideological conflicts and enhance the acceptability standard at the UN platform.

In the sections involving the genre of reportage including Section Three and Four of Chapter Four, the trend of interpersonalisation is instantiated as a series of textual tactics operating at the semantic or syntactic levels to break away with the orthodox tone traditionally prevailing in the Party or government reports. For instance, by transforming a mundane list of nominal phrases into a clausal event where the actor is specified and a string of actions are vigorously identified, the mediocre tone of reporting is tangibly replaced by a dynamic and interactive style of the TT. This respect of translation shifts marks off the textual readjustments to the target audience’s frame in which personalised and interactive narrative is valued, indexing

the subtle effort to shift the dogmatic Chinese political discourse towards a conversational and interpersonal style of public discourse.

Furthermore, in the genre of government report in Section Four of Chapter Four, the strategies of explication and semantic condensation are exclusively applied into the rendering of the TT as a discursive attempt to enhance the dimension of reader-friendliness and textual comprehension of translation. These types of translation shifts can be seen as the translators' attempt to tailor the TTs to the context models envisaged for the target audience, which largely heightens the standard of acceptability and comprehension.

5.6.3 Dialectical Relationship between ST and TT Production

In addition, the dialectical relationship between ST and TT production merits special attention as embodied in the category of intertextuality in Section One and Section Four of Chapter Four. This notion is adapted from Fairclough's theoretical formulation of intertextual analysis which shows how texts selectively draw on 'orders of discourse' which are understood as the generalised configurations of various discourse types associated with a particular social domain or institution.

Given the cross-lingual contexts entailed for translation studies, intertextuality is interpreted as the discursive interaction between STs and TTs. It seems to be traditionally believed that TTs are primarily influenced by STs, whereas evidence indicates that translation has some level of influence on the ST production in a way that the ST producers are in an informed position to embrace and accommodate the subtle translation shifts in the ST production on the grounds that ST and TT production stems from a homogeneous social and discursive environment.

This phenomenon is diachronically demonstrated in some parallel examples where a translation shift in earlier leaders' speeches has been accommodated in the original

speeches of the successors, resulting in the discursual change of the STs. It tentatively indicates the role translation plays in interacting with ST production, where translation is integrated into the formation of ‘orders of discourse’ which were traditionally viewed to be solely influenced by STs. This unique discursive phenomenon is largely necessitated by the fact that political translation in China is a kind of ‘inverse’ translation into the translators’ non-mother tongue. In this sense, the act of translation is apt to interact with the ST production, functioning as a locus to inform and reflect on domestic politics.

Furthermore, it is of enormous interest to note that the functional categories identified amongst the diverse range of translation shifts are found immensely comparable with the meta-discursual nature of Chinese political discourse mentioned in Chapter Three, as illustrated in the diagram below. This point can be illustrated in the following diagram. The translation strategies of ‘ST distinctiveness’ and ‘legitimation’ can be perceived as the source-oriented move to correspond to the metadiscourse of ‘building socialism with Chinese characteristics’; the metadiscourse of ‘keeping pace with the times’ is accommodated and echoed in the translational features of ‘TT accommodations’, ‘metaphorisation’, ‘interpersonalisation’ and ‘interaction’ as a target-oriented attempt to break down the frame of ideological orthodox and integrate into the target norms; the features of ‘mitigating effect’ and ‘neutralisation’ find parallels to the metadiscourse of ‘harmony’ in terms of the conservative nature of the strategy driven by the urge to adduce common ground and foster ‘soft power’ at the diplomatic front.

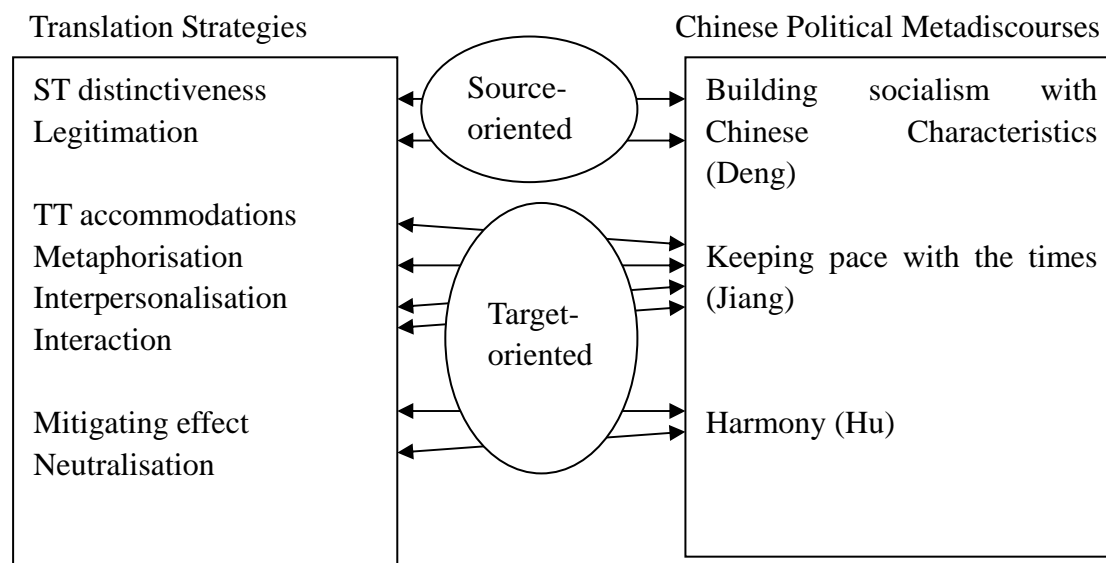


Diagram 2: Dialectical Relations between ST and TT Text Production

More importantly, the most prominent feature regarding the construction of Chinese political discourse is the rhetorical consistency built on the fact that the political representations under the reign of a leader are established by entextualising the predecessor's discourse and recontextualising it within one's own meta-discursive frame. It is the interplay of the intricately evolving political metadiscourses of different periods of leadership that delineates the configurations of Chinese political discourse as well as characterises political legitimation building in China. This insight in large part accounts for the considerable level of consistency displayed in Chinese political rhetoric across different periods of leadership. The discursual consistency is well reflected in the translated discourse where the features of translation shifts fall into a series of fairly similar functional categories as shown in each set of data analysis. The variations only seem to arise with the functional readjustments to specific communicative purposes entailed by different generic features in each set of political sub-genre.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This research maps out the changes of strategies in political translation in China by appropriating concepts and theories of CDA by Fairclough and van Dijk and other CDA and translation studies scholars (Fairclough 1993, 1995, van Dijk 1993, Wodak 1989, Tymoczko 2003). At the macro level, the process of political translation is manifested as an institutionalised norm-governed social practice with various agents and players involved in the negotiation of socio-political representations. At the micro level, the combination of comparative and parallel textual approaches is appropriated and employed to explore the textual changes informed by the macro-level contextual make-ups with a view to investigating the role of translation in discursive construction.

The comprehensive data analysis provides textual markers and reference to the relationship between the STs and TTs. The functional categories presented at the end of data analysis shows the specific roles that translation tends to play in mediating between the source and target communities. From the socio-cognitive perspective, these roles manifest themselves as the power-mediated knowledge transfer between the source group and the target group depending on which group holds more discursive power in specific context models. In other words, the translations appear, on one hand, to have an affinity with the target community motivated by the need to create the target-compatible context models by assimilating the source group knowledge into the target group knowledge structure. In this case, expectancy norms prevail as a result of the macro-level power play. On the other hand, the translations also seem to be firmly grounded in the source community by preserving an original sense of Chinese political representations as a manifestation of the professional norms by taking the source-oriented stance to disseminate the dominative knowledge to the target community. Both forms of norm-regulated knowledge transfer in translational behaviour are in large part underpinned by the power play and ideological factors involved at the front of intercultural communication. Therefore, the abstract notions of

power and ideology involved in CDA theories become transparent and appropriately operational when set in the frame of the model of translation norms mediated by knowledge transfer from the socio-cognitive perspective.

This functional-cognitive approach to political discourse translation serves particularly well to uncovering and explicating the contingent elements that help to maintain and reconstruct the existing translation norms. It is of great interest to this study to look into the norm reconstruction from the bottom-up direction where the autonomy that translators are gaining has a particular stake in recontextualising the original discourse within the institutional contexts. Moreover, the (re)construction of translation norms through translators' conscious negotiation points toward the vision that norms can be not only internalised into translators' intellectual constructs but also externalised as a socially-adaptive entity open to change.

In order to offer a broadened and balanced view of Chinese political discourse functioning as the CCP's essential means to maintaining political legitimacy, a range of the metadiscourses have been deployed to underpin the building of Chinese political representations under the different Chinese leadership, including 'building socialism with Chinese characteristics', 'three represents' and 'keeping pace with the times', and 'harmony'. Emphasis is placed on the cognitive and cultural dimension political metadiscourses have in facilitating the formation of Chinese political representations. As pointed out, the conceptualising nature of metadiscourse plays a significant part in simplifying complicated ideological formulations and engaging in political communication and negotiation given that it is cognitively easy to pin down the central message with such discourses and get the message across. Furthermore, the notion of metadiscourse acts as a link between the surface discourse meanings to the relevant socio-cultural knowledge which could be potentially evoked through the carefully devised pattern of metadiscourse. In this sense, Chinese political metadiscourse can be viewed as a fundamental form of discourse for discourse production and comprehension.

The findings have evidently demonstrated that the functional categories that the translations intend to fulfil in each genre of political speeches closely resemble the significations of the metadiscourses of Chinese political speeches. This unique discursive phenomenon points to the dialectical relations between TT production and the metadiscourses in the source contexts. On one hand, the SL metadiscourses condition the way translations are produced in the functions fulfilled by the TTs in both ST and TT contexts. On the other hand, as identified in previous chapters in some parallel examples where a translation shift in leaders' speeches has been accommodated in the original speeches of the successors, resulting in the changes of the STs and subsequently of the metadiscourses in the source context. Meanwhile, it is also evident through the comprehensive sets of TT functions obtained by the systematic data analysis that Chinese political metadiscourses play a central role in managing the ST and TT production.

More importantly, the most prominent feature regarding the construction of Chinese political discourse is the rhetorical consistency built on the fact that the political representations under the reign of a leader are established by 'entextualising' (Zhang 2010) the predecessor's discourse and recontextualising it within one's own meta-discursive frame. It is the interplay of the intricately evolving political metadiscourses of different periods of leadership that delineates the configurations of Chinese political discourse as well as characterises political legitimation building in China. This insight primarily accounts for the considerable level of consistency displayed in Chinese political rhetoric across different periods of leadership. The discursual consistency is significantly reflected in the translated discourse where the characteristics of translation shifts fall into a series of compatibly similar functional categories as shown in each set of data analysis. The variations only seem to arise with the functional readjustments to specific communicative purposes entailed by different generic features in each type of the political sub-genres.

As China is governed under a more open and stable leadership, translation, as a form of

political engagement, is playing a subtle but incrementally active role in reflecting social change and informing on the discursive production in the source culture context. Especially in recent years under Jiang and Hu's leadership, there is a growing tendency that the act of translation has been closely interacting with the target readership and engaged in the (re)negotiation with the conventional norms in an attempt to be integrated into the prevalent global discourse.

Apart from the practical values of this thesis, this study also projects an initial theoretical attempt to re-explore the notion of translation norms from the functional-cognitive perspective and map it onto the wider analytical ground of social and critical theories. These findings thus lend refreshing insight into the translational behaviour in a non-western context where political translation has become a unique site of scholarly undertaking to reflect on and engage in domestic politics as well as to inform on contemporary translation studies.

In order to provide a clear line of perspective on how the present study advances the knowledge of translation studies and its related fields, the following paragraphs are devoted to highlighting the major original contributions of the present study.

Firstly, this study extends the traditionally monolingual application of CDA approach to the bilingual context used for translation studies. Specifically, a synergy of a functional-cognitive CDA perspective has been developed by combining the CDA models of Fairclough and van Dijk. The functional linguistic parameters parallel to Fairclough's functional forms of textual analysis serve as a micro-level toolkit for the close textual examination. At the macro-level, van Dijk's direction of CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective accounts for the core relation between the power enactment and discourse production in a more profound manner. In the socio-cognitive light, the ideological factors which are believed to shape the translation products can be interpreted in the context models managed by the knowledge transfer between source and target communities as a result of power play.

Meanwhile, the above abstract macro-level hypothesis is testified through the textual examination of translation shifts from STs to TTs and the diachronic comparison of the translation products from a functional linguistic perspective.

Secondly, this thesis attempts to integrate the notion of translation norms into the CDA model to investigate whether the changes of socio-political norms are involved in the act of political translation. Anchored in the Chesterman's model of translation norms, it argues that political translation in China is both an institutional operation and a reciprocal process of norm-reformation practice in specific context models. The functional-cognitive CDA approach to political discourse translation gives a particular edge to explicating the contingent elements that help to maintain and reconstruct the existing norms.

The present study shows a particular interest in looking into the bottom-up direction of norm reconstruction where the autonomy translators are gaining has a particular stake in recontextualising the original discourse within the institutional context. Translators interpret texts and produce texts according to the translation purpose, institutional norms and needs of the target audience, using their own linguistic and socio-cultural experience which is inherently rooted in social practice. It remains controversial whether all translators' choices are ideologically motivated, but it is inevitable that translators' intertextual and socio-cultural knowledge is socially acquired and ideologically shaped. Especially in the Chinese context where the operation of political translation is highly consistent and institutionalised, the diachronic examination of the translation shifts from the STs to the TTs can be seen as ideologically-embedded indicators of discursive change informed by wider socio-political transformations.

Thirdly, the current analytical model embraces the notions of text, discourse and genre and highlights their roles in investigating the ways ideology and power relations are embedded in and mediated through language use. A text is seen as the actual instance

of language use in a concrete manner, say, in a written form for this study. A discourse is a specific way of representing the world, such as political discourse which is the representations of views and opinions in the political context. It involves a higher level of language use by social groups in socio-cultural communication. Genres are understood as various ways of linguistic interaction, closely linked to specific social situations. In terms of the triangular relations, text is the basis for discourse analysis to facilitate discourse production and comprehension. Likewise, genre analysis also relies on text analysis to expose how political actors express their opinions and legitimise their policies. Meanwhile, discourse practices are conditioned by the types of genre to achieve specific goals of communication, as demonstrated in the data analysis demarcated by political sub-genres and further elaborated in the findings. Therefore, this thesis provides a fertile source to contribute to the better understanding of the three text-related parameters in the translation-oriented studies

Fourthly, the study is characterised by a systematic and detailed account of the translation shifts from the STs to the TTs with the emphasis on the socio-political and ideological implications that these shifts entail. Given the text-based nature of the translation analysis integrated with the above CDA perspective, a wide range of data analysis has been conducted to expose the ideological implications and power relations implicated in texts. The functional categories presented at the end of data analysis shows the specific roles translation intends to play in mediating between the source and target communities.

Finally, the thesis puts forward a distinct argument that there is a dialectical relation between TT production and the Chinese metadiscourses in the source contexts. Metadiscourse applied in the Chinese political context refers to the fundamental forms underlying Chinese political representations and takes varied but correlated forms in different periods of leadership. Chinese metadiscourses condition the way translations are produced in the functions fulfilled by the TTs in both ST and TT contexts.

As discussed so far, this study has provided a comprehensive and systematic account of the changes of translation strategies against the context of Chinese political discursive transformations. The textual findings are situated within a broader social and critical framework as exemplified in the functional-cognitive CDA model. In terms of the research aim and objectives that the research sets out to achieve, this thesis is generally an original and sustained piece of work. However, within the scope and time span of a PhD study, it is inevitable that there are limitations to the research.

One of the main limitations would arise from the text-based nature of this research, which makes the attempts to relate the textual evidence to the socio-political contexts also appear text-bound. This approach can be reasonably justified within the Chinese political context in which the process of discourse production remains consistently opaque as a result of the stringent regulation by institutional norms. In this case, the examination of textual data from a functional linguistic perspective would seem effective to relate the textual evidence to the social functions it intends to fulfill and to further explicate macro-level of power and control involved in discourse production. However, as pointed out by some translation analysts (Mason 2008; Schäffner 2012) in their most recent work, the practice of using discourse analysis as a way of describing translator behaviour and inferring social process has been reassessed and reformulated in an attempt to integrate the research of institutional activities, interactions and agency with the text-based translation studies. Even though the present study gives a comprehensive picture of the products of political translation, much of the speculations with regard to the decision making process of Chinese political translation still needs to be further supported with the empirical data stemming from the valid study on the actual operation of the translation practice.

Another limitation concerns the interdisciplinary nature of this study which integrates the socio-cognitively-oriented CDA models and cultural studies with translation studies. This integrated approach plays an important role to implicate the translation products within the communicative and socio-political contexts and to explicate the

phenomena of translation in relation to the relevant notions extracted from the neighbouring intellectual field in order to reinvigorate the traditional formulation of some important notions in translation studies. Within the CDA-oriented theoretical framework, however, some concepts or dimensions from the perspective of translation studies have become inevitably underexplored, such as the concept of translation shifts, the dimension of political translation as a form of institutional translation, and the application of the notion of translation universals into the Chinese context.

Based on the discussion of the limitations of the present study, future research can be proposed in the following directions.

It is worthwhile to look into the process of producing the translated texts as a complement to the textual evidence. Although this study has undertaken some amount of research into the translation process through the secondary data, it would be of immediate interest to carry out a substantive level of primary research with regards to ‘the complexity of translational activities in the field of politics’ (Schäffner 2012), focusing on the aspects such as the translation team and their activities involved, manifestations of political translation as an institutional operation, the decision-making procedures involved before the final translation products are released.

Another interesting dimension that merits attention for further study is the role mass media plays in disseminating the political speeches to the public. As claimed by Bhatia (2006: 176), political action is becoming intensively ‘mediatized’ in the modern era. Likely, Schäffner (2012: 103) points out that ‘the mass media play a significant role in communicating politics to the general public’, and that ‘media produce texts within their own media institutions’. Thus it would add an important dimension to the study of political translation by investigating whether there is any media intervention involved in the presentation of the final version of political speeches. Also, to what extent this might have an impact on the practice of political

translation in the Chinese context.

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¹⁰ The titles of the cited publications hereafter are translated into English by the author to facilitate comprehension.

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